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The Proposal as to Nicaragua

The treaty proposed by the Democratic Administration for what comes close to being a protectorate over the Central American Republic of Nicaragua is novel in itself, and is surprising also as coming from those who, like the present Secretary of State, have traditionally been opposed to expansion of American power and influence beyond our own borders. This does not make the proposal unsound or less desirable, but it does show how differently a given problem may seem to political leaders when they are in opposition and to the same leaders in power. The new policy would place Nicaragua in much the same relation with the United States as is Cuba; for the privileges as to possible intervention and control are precisely those insisted upon through the Platt Amendment when this country established self-government in Cuba after the war with Spain. In brief, these provisions are that Nicaragua agrees not to impair its independence by compact with any foreign power, or allow any such power to obtain military control; that it will not contract debts without seeing that the country's revenues (after paying current expenses) will provide adequate interest and ultimate payment; and that the United States may intervene "for the preservation of Nicaraguan independence, and the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty." There is no engagement on our part to guarantee the payment of existing debts of Nicaragua. The benefit which would undoubtedly inure to foreign investors would be largely moral—that is, it would come from knowledge that the United States could and would see that hereafter Nicaragua's finances should be managed on a sound basis. What happened in Santo Domingo under our control would doubtless happen in Nicaragua—cessation of waste, restoration of credit, and money to use as well as to pay off importunate creditors. The so-called "dollar diplomacy" of the Taft Administration made the United States Government almost a partner with bankers in adjusting Nicaragua's finances. It was rejected by the Senate for exactly that reason, which does not apply to the present project. The matter comes up now through the proposed amendment of a treaty proposed during the previous Administration under which, if adopted, the United States would pay Nicaragua $3,000,000 and receive the exclusive right to make an interoceanic canal across the country (it is thought possible that at least a light-draught canal may some time be worth while, and it is our interest to guard against the ceding of this privilege to any other nation) and a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca—a valuable concession. But the importance of the additions to this old treaty have brought it at once from second-class importance to a matter of the first rank.

Is the Plan Feasible?

It is evident that Nicaragua's consent must be had to the "protectorate," unless affairs should be so bad that our Government should feel impelled to intervene and take charge in the interest of the people and the world at large. In Cuba we were in possession when the time came to set up a Cuban government, and had every right to insist upon those conditions that we felt were necessary for stability. The case is different in Nicaragua; but there is no real difficulty, for the President of Nicaragua, Adolfo Diaz, in a despatch to the New York "Times" last week, declares that the treaty proposed favors the mutual interests of the two countries involved. He finds it especially desirable because of the new relations into which the two countries will come through the opening of the Panama Canal. This suggests the question whether the introduction of this treaty is a first step indicative of a general policy toward all the Central American republics. If so, it must expect to meet with

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opposition from some of those countries—Costa Rica has already indicated averseness to anything of the kind. Neither President Wilson nor Secretary Bryan has declared that there is in view a general policy of dealing with Latin America; they intimate rather that bridges need not be crossed until they are reached, and then one at a time. Nicaragua's history and misfortunes, political and financial, are reviewed in an article elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook; that the country is in need of help and steadying is obvious. Mr. Bryan, in fact, declares that its condition is precarious. It is the firm belief of The Outlook, often expressed, that the United States has a special responsibility for law and order on this side the ocean. There are strong reasons, stated more fully in an editorial on another page, to hold that this is a right occasion for its exercise.

The United States and Mexico

The necessity of some definite policy toward Mexico on the part of the United States becomes more and more evident. The difficulties in the way are undoubtedly great; the grave danger of any misstep at this juncture is impressive, and therefore the apparent lack of decision on the part of the Administration at Washington is not as severely criticised by press and people as it otherwise would be. Various plans and policies were discussed last week, but no determination seems to have been reached. The arrival of our Ambassador to Mexico in Washington will doubtless tend to bring matters to a point. Pending anything like a formal declaration of purpose, the two suggestions most discussed last week were those regarding the importation of arms into Mexico and the possibility of mediation by the United States. Such mediation might follow the study of the situation in the field by a Commission sent to Mexico by the President; and it has even been proposed that our Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, may be sent to Mexico. The question as to the importation of arms is a peculiar one because of the decision of the Taft Administration, still in force, which forbade the exportation of arms from this country to Mexico unless intended for the Mexican Government. It is now argued by some that it would be well to allow the export of arms from this country without restriction; naturally, the forces of the so-called Constitutionalists under Carranza in northern Mexico would benefit by this, and they declare that the removal of restrictions on the importation of arms would quickly end the Huerta régime. On the other hand, the proposal has been made that the United States should forbid altogether any exportation of arms to Mexico, and accordingly put itself in a position of absolute neutrality as regards the combatants in Mexico. So far as international law goes, it is not an offense against a foreign Government to allow the export of arms into its country, although it is an offense under international law to allow an expedition of invasion or one intended to assist insurgents to be fitted out in the neutral country. As regards the proposal of mediation, it remains to be seen whether such a plan would meet with any kind of approval by either of the factions in Mexico; and it is even more doubtful whether consent could be obtained from any of the opposing parties there to such a supervision of a fair and free Presidential election by the United States as we at one time found it desirable and possible to exercise in Panama. It is almost impossible to obtain accurate information as to what is taking place from day to day in Mexico; in one day's despatches we are told that the Huerta régime is sure to fall before long; the next day, perhaps, despatches declare, "The revolt in Chihuahua is virtually over;" one day the important town of Juarez is about to fall, the next day it is said that it has been reinforced by Federal troops and the rebels have given up all ideas of its capture; despatches come to the effect that Americans and their families to a considerable number are actually in a state of siege at Madera, and almost immediately another despatch states that there is no cause for alarm; on Thursday the rebels have captured the city of Torreon, on Friday the news is declared false. What is certain is that property and industry have been injured, that foreigners have left the country in large numbers, that the revolution in the north is extremely formidable, and that in several other parts of Mexico there are in the field forces of insurgents, guerrillas, and bandits.

The Tariff Bill in the Senate

Animated debate has been going on in the United States Senate since the Tariff Bill was reported back by the Senate's Finance Committee in the form approved by that Committee and by the Democratic caucus. The report submitted by Senator Simmons, the Chairman of the Finance Committee,

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pointed out in detail the differences between the Senate bill as it stands now and the Underwood Bill as it passed the House. The sponsors for the changes say that in its new form the bill makes an average reduction from the rates of the Payne-Aldrich Law of 27.64 per cent, and involves also a reduction on an average of 4.22 per cent from the Underwood Bill as it passed the House. An elaborate estimate of receipts from imports to be expected under the new law ends by predicting a surplus in the Treasury of something over two million dollars. In some particulars the Finance Committee considered the House amendments to the original bill "entirely too drastic"—such as the proposed five per cent tariff on imports in American ships; on the other hand, the Committee strongly advocates its proposal to give the President power to impose tariff duties of a retaliatory character upon articles in a specified list, which includes many farm products. In advocacy of this plan the Committee declared that the maximum and minimum enactment of the Payne-Aldrich Law has been a total failure and has injured commerce; wise use of the new retaliatory plan, it is hoped, would bring about equitable tariff arrangements with "those countries which do not now afford us fair treatment." The proposed taxation of one-tenth of one cent a pound on cotton sold through stock exchanges for future delivery is advocated as an influence in eliminating "a parasite" which has injured business—that is, excessive speculation. Stress is laid on the change in the income tax provision already noted in The Outlook by which the amount exempted is three thousand dollars instead of four thousand dollars, while a special exemption of a thousand dollars is given on the joint income of a husband and wife, and of five hundred dollars for each of not more than two minor children. The addition of many farm products to the free list is still another important change. But with all these changes it is to be noted that sugar and wool are still to be on the free schedules, immediately in the first case, later in the second, although some reductions have been made in the wool schedules. Generally speaking, there seems to be nothing either in the bill as passed by the House or in the bill as it is now before the Senate which so controverts the main purpose of the Administration as to make the bill unacceptable to the President unless it shall still receive very radical changes.

Varying Views

In the debate of last week Mr. Simmons flatly rejected any belief in the cost-of-production theory, and he and other Democratic Senators declared roundly that the bill fulfilled the pledges of the party in that it put many necessaries of life on the free list, and confined the duties on other importations to revenue purposes; it would, urged these Senators, lower the cost of living, involve a minimum of disturbance to business, and destroy monopoly, whereas, as they claim, the old law advanced the cost of living, and discriminated against the West in favor of the East and against the farmer in favor of the manufacturer. Naturally, the Republican Senators took a different view. Senator Burton and Senator Smoot spoke at length, urging that the substitution of *ad valorem* duties instead of specific duties meant a heavier burden on the consumer, especially when prices are high, that imports had increased enormously under the Payne-Aldrich Law, and that anything like free trade as a public policy would be disastrous and was in a measure involved in the present bill. Senator Cummins declared that the Democrats had misinterpreted the verdict of the election and that American industry was endangered by what he called "the most unjust, the most invidious discrimination in the history of tariff legislation." Senator Borah and Senator Root attacked the income tax provision, the first advocating that the exemption be raised from three thousand to four thousand dollars with the retention of the special exemptions named above, while Senator Root pointed out that legal and Constitutional grounds would, as he believed, make it impossible to enforce the law against income received between March 1, 1913, and the date upon which the bill becomes law; he offered an amendment to make the tax apply only after the new law becomes effective. Finally, Senator Works denounced as a vicious method of law-making that which in this instance produces "a bill agreed upon and marked for final passage, upon consideration only by a few men of the party, concurred in by the President acting with representatives of this one party."

The Tax on Beauty

As The Outlook has already recorded, the Tariff Bill, as passed by the House, rightly placed paintings and sculptures on the free list. The reactionary Finance Committee of

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the Senate, however, seeks by amendment to impose a duty on art less than fifty years old. Protests have sprung up everywhere against this absurd provision. Among them that of Mr. Ernest Flagg, President of the Society of Beaux Arts Architects, deserves special mention. Leaving aside the many other reasons why art should not be taxed, considerations of the meanest commercial kind alone, he says, should be sufficient to defeat this measure. As Mr. Flagg asserts, we are sustaining great economic loss through the failure of our people to understand the true significance of art. To most of us, as he adds, the word is synonymous of luxury, and its products are thought to be fit objects for taxation. But, as he points out, art means simply a form of handiwork. "Artistic work is work done in a more beautiful . . . way. Anything which increases the beauty of the product of labor increases its commercial value." Mr. Flagg pertinently instances the example of France, which reaps an enormous economic return on the money spent in the cultivation of art. As a result of the enlightened policy long pursued by France toward art, the taste of the French has become so elevated that its effects are generally apparent in their manufactures of all kinds. Thus, as Mr. Flagg justly concludes, a world-wide and a most profitable market is opened to them, and accounts in no small degree for their nation's wealth and prosperity. If the relationship between the importation of paintings into this country and the ordinary products of manufacture seems remote to some, Mr. Flagg reminds them that nothing is more contagious than the desire for beautiful things, that the man who has fine paintings seeks harmonious surroundings for them, and that thus a market is created for all sorts of artistic handiwork. Workers in bronze, iron, marble, faience, glass, and textiles, he says, can always find employment in New York City at high wages, and the city is full of shops where work of this sort is produced, much of it of a superior grade; but—and this is a big but—"these places can hardly be viewed with pride by the native American, for the skilled hands employed in them are, almost without exception, foreign born." Why? Because the American boy has been brought up in an atmosphere devoid of artistic inspiration, has been afforded little opportunity to learn its handiwork, and hence is unable to take his place in the highest ranks of labor.

Bananas The banana has come to be a very popular food, especially among the poor, because the price has remained low and the banana may be had at all seasons. Now, however, it would appear that the price is in danger of being advanced, and all because the Democratic party proposes to put a duty on this fruit. According to the Democratic platform of 1912, the high cost of living is a serious problem in every American home. The excessive prices, it said, result in large measure from the high tariff laws enacted and maintained by the Republican party. But the Democratic party proposes to do exactly this. It has, it is true, taken the tariff off certain products. But to lay a rate of five cents a bunch on bananas is certainly in flat defiance of its platform promise. Perhaps the leaders of the party do not realize that the United States is the greatest customer for bananas in the world. We do not raise enough of the fruit on our soil to cut much figure. About twenty steamer lines from this country to West Indian and Central and South American ports depend for their return cargoes largely on the banana trade. Within the last few years the quantity imported has greatly increased. Not only would the imposition of the duty be economically wrong, it certainly would be unwise from an international standpoint. Bananas are produced by the Caribbean countries, and our relations with these countries are far more important than those of any other Power. We must increase good relations with the Caribbean countries. We must bind them to us, so that there shall be throughout all the region in the proximity of the Panama Canal the influence for good of our own Government in every material and moral way. That we are not beginning such a course with the approval of the Caribbean countries is evident in the delegations from those countries now in Washington to protest against the imposition of the proposed duty.

The Parcel Post and the People Every one outside of Congress seems to have been pleased at the announcement from the Post-Office Department last week that changes were to be made in our parcel post system which would make it more convenient, effective, and moderate in price for the people. In Congress, on the other hand, the announcement was received with dislike and distrust. Almost immediately

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there followed a statement that "concerted opposition has developed in Congress" to the Postmaster-General's order. This opposition is based on two grounds. One is that the Post-Office Department is exceeding its authority; that Congress alone should have power to change the rates and conditions of a parcel post service; and that if the present law does give the Postmaster-General these powers the law ought to be changed at once. The other reason alleged for opposition in Congress is that the changes proposed would reduce the income from the parcel post and that the Post-Office Department needs all the money it can get. As to the question of authority, The Outlook will express no opinion further than to say that, unless or until Congress limits the power of the Postmaster-General, he is in his right in a large view of his executive powers and should exercise them for the general welfare. His supposed authority is contained in a section of the parcel post law which may be described as one of the longest, most involved, and least intelligible paragraphs ever printed. We decline to interpret this twenty-line sentence, but our impression, after coming out of the fog, is that it was intended to confer power upon the Postmaster-General to change the rates, the weight limit, and other conditions if he finds that the operation of the original law increases the cost of the service or "prevents the shipment of articles desirable"—under which last clause it might perhaps be argued that too great rates and too small a weight limit might have just this effect. The changes proposed by Mr. Burleson are intended to take place on August 15, and include a rate reduction and an increase in the maximum weight of parcels from eleven to twenty pounds, both for the first and second zones only, and the substitution of a rate chart for the present clumsy parcel post maps. Mr. Burleson expresses his hope that in time the postal service will handle practically all the small package transportation business in the United States, and even predicts an increase of the maximum weight to one hundred pounds. About one-third of the parcel mail is handled within the first and second zones, and a reduction here would obviously be of exceeding advantage to private citizens and especially to those living not far from large cities. There is no doubt that our parcel post system has been of value and will increase in value, although some tenderness perhaps for the "vested interests" of the express companies, and also some uncertainty to be removed by experience, have made it probable that the system can be and should be much improved. Even as it is, the estimate that three million parcels would be handled the first year will be, says Mr. Burleson, doubled in actual work. One change already made by the Post-Office Department has been warmly welcomed by the public—the requirement that special parcel post stamps should be used was of value at the outset in order to check the returns from this source; it is no longer necessary or mandatory, and the public have welcomed the privilege of using ordinary stamps and of using the parcel post stamps for other purposes. All the statements given out from the Post-Office Department declare that the effect of the changes proposed would be to increase and not to decrease the revenues. It is to be hoped that if Congress intervenes it will go to the Department for statistics and information, and find out also what the general public believes ought to be done to make our parcel post system as valuable and efficient as similar systems are abroad.

The Binghamton Tragedy

Since the Asche fire in New York, at which 147 lives were lost, there has been no such extended and pitiable factory calamity as that in Binghamton, New York, on Tuesday of last week, by which some sixty employees of a clothing factory, mostly women, lost their lives. The cause is said to have been a cigarette thrown among combustibles, as at the Asche fire, although this is not certain. The fire spread with startling rapidity despite the fact that, the owners claim, the building complied strictly with the present laws. There was but one staircase from the fourth to the third story, and this proved insufficient; many of the girls who had reached the third floor were driven back to the fourth by the flames and there perished. How far the law is at fault, how far its administration, and how far the owners of the building, are questions of vital consequence in guarding against future calamities. A representative of The Outlook is, as we write, at Binghamton examining into the facts and the legal and legislative principles involved, and we shall take up the subject for full discussion next week. Meanwhile we may note that Governor Sulzer holds the Senate responsible because it refused to

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confirm his nomination of a Commissioner of Labor; that others lay the blame to the amendment of the Fire Protection Bill by the Legislature which excluded four-story factories from the full protection of the law; and that Dr. Henry Moskowitz, of the New York Committee of Safety—formed after the Asche fire—which has done much to improve factory conditions, has made a statement that the loss of life at Binghamton might have been avoided if the Committee's recommendation that such buildings should have fire-inclosed stairways had been made law.

A Lighted Cigarette and a Redwood Forest

A lighted cigarette carelessly thrown from a Tamalpais Railway observation car started, it is said, the raging forest fire that more than three thousand men lately fought on Mount Tamalpais, in Marin County, California, about fifteen miles northwest of San Francisco. The fire fed at first on the dense growth of chaparral and greasewood covering the south side of Mount Tamalpais, but a north wind carried it into Blythedale Cañon, the route of Tamalpais Scenic Railway, known as "the crookedest railway in the world," and soon the redwoods and manzanita trees were ablaze there. It was hoped to save Muir Woods, the home of the giant redwoods—trees of thousands of years' growth and hundreds of feet high, the finest specimens in the world. Soldiers fought desperately to save these woods, but the flames leaped the trenches dug by the soldiers, and they had to flee for their lives. Before leaving, however, they broke open the celebrated aviary and released the birds. Some, bewildered by the glare, fluttered straight into the fire, but most of them were seen to fly with the wind away from it. Deer, coons, rattlesnakes, and rats were driven from their haunts. A soldier reported having seen an army of mountain rats advancing before the fire like a swarm of ants. A big buck, dazed by flame, wandered into an open space, looked straight into a moving-picture machine that a man was operating, and then crashed into the underbrush. Thirteen rattlesnakes were killed at one spot by a squad of soldiers. Cottagers were driven from their homes. Cottages are soon rebuilt; people forget their fright and return to set up anew their household gods; but a giant redwood destroyed by fire can never be replaced. Is there not some way to stop this forest destruction through carelessness?

An Industrial Experiment in Ohio

Ohio is about to inaugurate an industrial experiment that will bear watching. The three members of the recently created State Industrial Commission will be clothed with powers that will send cold shivers down the spines of persons who profess to fear anything smacking of paternalism. Six State departments will be absorbed by the Commission, and every business establishment in Ohio will be governed by it so far as the regulation of the hours of labor and the safeguarding of the health of employees is concerned. The Commission will do the work now done by the State Liability Board of Awards, which administers the workmen's compensation fund; the Chief Inspector of Workshops and Factories, the Chief Examiner of Stationary Engineers, the Board of Boiler Rules, the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, and the Board of Arbitration and Conciliation. The law creating the Commission empowers it "to have such supervision of every employment and place of employment and of every other building and establishment in this State as may be necessary adequately to enforce and administer all laws and all lawful orders requiring such employment or place of employment or building and establishment to be safe, and requiring the protection of life, health, safety, and welfare of every employee in such employment or place of employment and every frequenter of such employment." The Commission is specifically empowered to regulate hours of labor as far as "the nature of the employment will reasonably permit." All this means that it will have supervision of mills and shops not alone, but of all stores, telephone and telegraph offices, laundries, bakeries, hotels, railway stations, apartment-houses, theaters, churches, hospitals, school-houses, etc. The "inquisitorial" right of unlimited inspection of these establishments is conferred upon the Commission. The private dwelling is practically the only institution that will not fall under the jurisdiction of this plenipotentiary body. Although the Commission must grant hearings on application to those who question the justice of its rulings, the Supreme Court of the State alone has power to nullify its commands. The Commission is, of course, authorized to enforce all existing regulations. Its greatest possibilities, however, lie in the direction of standardizing conditions of employment and devices for the safeguarding of

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the health and lives of employees. Museums of safety and hygiene containing such "devices and methods for the protection of the life, health, safety, and welfare of employees" will be established by the authority of the creating enactment. The three men who will have it in their power, after September 1, largely to mold industrial conditions in Ohio are Wallace D. Yaple, of Chillicothe; Thomas J. Duffy, of East Liverpool; and M. B. Hammond, of Columbus. All are close students of labor conditions and are conversant with the issues with which they will be confronted.

"Trust-Busting" vs. Regulation

The policy of trust regulation as opposed to the policy of trust destruction has lately achieved a spectacular triumph in Missouri. The outcome is the more interesting because it represents a development from actual experience. The State won a conspicuous and complete victory over the greatest trust in the United States. The trust was ordered to leave the State and cease doing business within its borders. But when the people were on the verge of reaping the fruits of their triumph they realized with dismay that this particular trust was doing a necessary service, and that to oust it would be a detriment to the State and would involve a needless economic waste. So, following a popular movement on behalf of the trust, it was permitted by the State Supreme Court to remain in the State on good behavior—subject, that is, to regulation. The trust in question was the Standard Oil Company of Indiana. Eight years ago, while ex-Governor Hadley, of Missouri, was Attorney-General for that State, he invoked the Missouri Anti-Trust Law against the Standard Oil Company, the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, and the Republic Oil Company. It was proved that the companies were violating the law, and three years later the Missouri Supreme Court fined each company $50,000, and ousted the Standard and the Republic from the State. The Waters-Pierce was permitted to remain on condition that it pay the fine and satisfy the Court that it had no relations with the Standard Oil Company of Indiana. The Republic Oil Company proved to be only a pirate maintained by the Standard to cut the throats of independent companies attempting to get a foothold in the State. It went out of business. The Waters-Pierce fulfilled the conditions imposed and remained in Missouri. The Standard appealed unsuccessfully to the Supreme Court of the United States, and last February the State Supreme Court refused to modify the terms of the original decree of ouster.

The State Acts

It suddenly dawned on the people of the State that an important and useful industry was about to be excluded. Near Kansas City the Standard had built a refinery costing nearly $2,000,000, where several hundred persons were employed. A town had grown up about it, with a church and a school. Workmen had begun to invest in homes. If the oil company were driven from the State, it expected to dismantle the refinery. That would have destroyed a prosperous little community. Most of the big business houses in Kansas City had discovered the advantages of fuel oil over coal. Under the oil régime soot had been almost banished from the business district. It was apparent that a return to coal meant a dirty city—and a return was inevitable for most of the concerns burning oil, if the Standard refinery were to go. The change to coal-burners would involve large expense, and could not possibly be made before the terms of the ouster should become effective. Further, it was apparent that the ousting of the Standard would leave almost a monopoly to the Waters-Pierce Company. Business men became alarmed. The Kansas City Commercial Club took the lead in appealing for legislation that would permit the Standard to remain in the State subject to regulation. A bill to this effect was put through the Legislature. It was virtually the recall of a judicial decision by legislative action. The fact that such a bill could pass both houses was in itself significant of the change that had come over the opinion of the State since the days of the popularity of the "trust-busting" campaign. Incidentally, ex-Governor Hadley, who had begun the prosecution, came out with a statement favoring the bill. Governor Major vetoed it on the ground that its terms were too general, and that the proper way to obtain relief was through an order by the Supreme Court. A short time ago the Court made this order. The Court reserved the right to take evidence at any time to ascertain whether the Standard is obeying the laws of the State. But so long as the company obeys these laws it may continue to do

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business. Thus, in Missouri, the procedure of destroying a trust absolutely has proved a failure. If the Standard Oil Company had been driven from the State for violating the laws, the people would have suffered as much as the company. From the policy of destruction the State has come by a roundabout way to the policy of regulation by court decisions—a clumsy method, for the court is not in a position to assume the requirements of an administrative board. The Missouri experience points toward the trust remedy suggested in the Progressive platform—the establishing of a "strong Federal administrative commission of high standing, which shall maintain permanent active supervision over industrial corporations engaged in inter-State commerce, doing for them what the Government now does for the National banks and what is now done for the railroads by the Inter-State Commerce Commission."

Legislative Progress in Illinois and Pennsylvania

The great industrial and commercial States of Illinois and Pennsylvania have shown within the past three months an astonishing amount of vigorous progressive sentiment. Because both of these States are seats of great industries, their peoples know the pressure of economic problems as something very real and personal. To the miner or the mill worker long hours of labor are not something to be read about in books; they are a matter of daily experience. So with child labor, woman labor, industrial accidents, minimum wage—each of these constitutes a personal or family question. And the people who feel these questions directly also feel their own individual helplessness. The relief they seek they cannot secure each for himself; they must secure it jointly through the law. And if they are to get it through the law, they must be able to elect to public office men who will really represent them. That is why progressive sentiment shows itself in two forms: in a demand for improved electoral and primary laws, and in a demand for social legislation. Opposed to this twofold demand there is not only the sentiment of the conservative element in the population, which fears the effect of such legislation upon property interests, but also the political machinery of the States, and especially the machine leaders of the two old parties. The result has been in both States a practical breaking-down of old party barriers, and an alignment of the conservative against the progressive forces. Out of this confusion there has emerged in each of these two States some progressive legislation. In both States there has been progress made in primary legislation, and in Pennsylvania there has been progress made in legislation for the improvement of the conditions of labor. The total effect in neither State is what the progressives, whether members of the Progressive party or not, hoped for; but in view of the fact that one house in each State killed several progressive measures passed by the other house, it is somewhat surprising that any progressive measures were adopted.

The Conservative-Progressive Conflict in Illinois

In Illinois there was an evident understanding, if not alliance, between the Democratic and Republican machines. The Democratic Speaker was elected by a Republican vote. He belonged to the faction which included the larger number of the followers of the Democratic boss of the State, Roger Sullivan. Opposed to this alliance has been not only the group of Progressive party men, but also the more independent men outside that party. There were many Democrats in the Legislature who were in sympathy with progressive legislation, but partisan and factional politics, coupled with the optimistic inefficiency of the Governor, rendered their good purposes for the most part ineffectual. One result of the progressive movement in Illinois has been the extension, through the enactment of this legislation, of the suffrage, in a limited degree, to women. The Progressive party was committed to woman suffrage, and all Progressives voted for this measure. In the majority for this were included a minority of the Democrats and a bare majority of the Republicans. The law permits women to vote for statutory offices, which include municipal and township offices and the office of Presidential elector. According to this, women cannot vote for the Governor of the State, but they can vote for the President of the United States. The new primary law of Illinois provides for the popular election of delegates to National Conventions under conditions that will enable the voters to know what Presidential candidate the would-be delegates prefer. The law also removes the local and State primaries from the time of the Presidential primaries, thus

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keeping State and local issues free from interference by National issues.

The Conflict in Pennsylvania

In Pennsylvania the party confusion was of a different kind from that in Illinois. There the Progressives had captured the Republican State Convention and had adopted a straight Progressive platform. Because of the peculiarity of the Pennsylvania laws, the Progressives had to vote their National ticket under the name of the Washington party. Thus it happened that the same man might be in his different capacities a Republican party man, a Washington party man, and a Progressive party man. Moreover, as shown in the Presidential primaries last year, the Democrats of Pennsylvania were predominantly progressive Democrats. The lower house of the Legislature was progressive in the broadest sense, if not in the strictly partisan sense of the word. There was a programme of legislation drafted in the form of specific bills by the Republican State Committee, controlled by Progressive party men. This programme, within the limits of the subjects included in it, carried out the specific declarations of the Progressive National platform. This programme had to run the gauntlet of a Senate in which hardly one-third could be said to be progressives. After a long deadlock, some of these bills were so amended that they passed both houses. As a result, Pennsylvania has a direct primary law applicable to all elected officers. Nomination by Convention in Pennsylvania is therefore now a thing of the past. The successor of Senator Penrose will be nominated as well as elected by popular vote. As a result of this Legislature's work, there has been improvement made in the hours of labor for women (the bill for the further restriction of child labor was so amended that it proved to be not a substantial improvement on existing conditions and therefore failed), and there will be hereafter in Pennsylvania a Public Service Commission, with full power over the service and the rates of public utility companies, though not over the issues of stocks and bonds. The workmen's compensation bill failed. The result in both Illinois and Pennsylvania illustrates the inability of the machine leaders of both the old parties to understand the extent and significance of the movement for the extension of the popular control of government and for legislation to secure a larger measure of social justice and industrial democracy. It also illustrates the fact that American governmental machinery is slow to respond to public opinion, and that even such a popular uprising as was evident in Pennsylvania and Illinois last year does not express itself in legislation in any corresponding degree.

Loan Sharks Triumph in Washington

After a four-year campaign in and out of Congress against the loan sharks who prey upon the department clerks in Washington, where their voracity is believed to be greater than in any other part of the country, Joseph T. Exnicios, Secretary of the Society for Savings and Loans of that city and a member of the executive committee of the National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations, declares that conditions to-day are worse than ever before for the small borrower in the District of Columbia. The Society for Savings, which was incorporated in 1905 for the purpose of lending money on reasonable terms to deserving persons temporarily embarrassed, and is the only reputable small loan agency in Washington, may be forced out of existence. The District of Columbia has for many years been notorious for the number of its loan sharks; something like a hundred of these gentry, it is said, have done business there at a rate of from ten to thirty per cent a month since before the beginning of the century. In one of his last messages President Roosevelt called attention to the need for legislation to curb the exactions of these money-lenders, and recommended the passage of a law "that would protect wage-earners and small-salaried Government employees who neither want nor would accept charity." The bill finally enacted in 1912, in its original form provided for the licensing of money-lenders under the supervision of the District Commissioners, and allowed an interest charge of two per cent a month to such licensed companies, which is the rate recognized by the Federation of Remedial Loan Associations as necessary for the successful conduct of this class of business. In spite of the fact that the rate prescribed was the effective standard demonstrated by experience, Congress passed the bill in amended form, reducing the rate allowed to one per cent per month—a rate at which no remedial loan society has ever been able to operate. Presi-

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dent Taft expressed a doubt as to the adequacy of the interest rate, but apparently thought it better to sign the bill and trust to Congress to increase it afterward than to veto the measure and render the long campaign against the loan sharks entirely fruitless. The new law went into effect in March; pawnbrokers were included in its provisions as well as lenders on chattel mortgages and salaries. Immediately all the pawnbrokers in Washington, with the exception of two, crossed the Potomac into Virginia, opened offices at the end of Long Bridge, near Fort Meyer, and conducted a free motor bus service for Government employees who desired to borrow on pledge of personal property. The Society for Savings and Loans was the only chattel mortgage company to take out a license and pay the $500 required for a bond under the new law, the other salary loan and chattel mortgage concerns making no applications for licenses, but continuing business as usual except that they charged higher fees on the ground that they were liable to arrest and fine for violating the statutes.

A Useless Law

Before the new law had been in effect a month it was declared to be unconstitutional. A money-lender, who also did business as a pawnbroker, applied for a pawnbroker's license under the law that had governed pawnbroking before the enactment of the new law. The District Commissioners refused the application, holding that the old law was repealed by the new enactment. The money-lender thereupon went before the Supreme Court of the District and demanded a mandamus on the ground that the clause in the new law which set forth that "no license shall be granted to any person, firm, or voluntary association, unless such person and the members of any such firm or voluntary association shall be bona-fide residents of the District of Columbia," was unconstitutional, in that it was grossly discriminatory. The Chief Justice of the District Supreme Court decided in favor of the money-lender, and the District Commissioners have taken the case to the Court of Appeals, where it cannot be reached before the fall in any event, and may be delayed for a year or more. In the meantime a score of money-lenders have been arrested for doing business without a license, but there is no chance of their being punished until the Court of Appeals reaches its decision as to the constitutionality of the new law. The view of Mr. Exnicios that conditions are worse for the small borrower in the District of Columbia to-day than ever before is based partly upon the circumstance that, even if the present unsatisfactory law governing small loans is declared unconstitutional and Congress is asked for new legislation in the matter, there will be another fight to establish even the one per cent clause, since Chairman Ben Johnson, of the District Committee in the House of Representatives, has declared that he will never sanction a measure allowing more than the legal rate of interest (six per cent in the District of Columbia) to pawnbrokers or lenders on chattel mortgages or salaries. Arthur H. Ham, director of the division of remedial loans of the Russell Sage Foundation, which had been behind the fight against the loan sharks in Washington as well as throughout the rest of the United States, declares that one of the most difficult phases of the propaganda has been in the convincing of legislators and men of business that the small loan traffic cannot be conducted on the basis of interest allowed to banking institutions. Mr. Ham says:

> It should be the purpose of small loan legislation to make it possible for the business to be conducted at a fair profit, in order that decent capital may come into the business and furnish the competition necessary to keep profits within reasonable limits. Banking rates of interest cannot be imposed upon this business. The loan company, having no deposits, must do business on its paid-in capital alone; and in order to pay operating expenses, losses, and a reasonable return upon the investment, a higher rate of interest than the banking rate must be charged. What this rate should be is best shown by an analysis of the annual reports of the 34 remedial loan societies now in operation. The annual operating expenses, including losses from unpaid loans, of the 17 chattel loan societies that were organized prior to January, 1910, averages 14.4 per centum of the average amount outstanding on loans. The figures are considerably increased in the case of societies organized since January, 1910, and not yet on a full working basis. Add to the operating cost of 14.4 per centum a fair return to capital of, say, six per centum, and we find that a charge of over twenty per centum per annum, inclusive of interest and fees of whatever character, is the minimum charge on which the business can be conducted, unless a very large capital is employed. As many of the societies included in this list have been in operation for many years, and have been able to effect economies in operating expense that are possible only through long experience, it is safe to say that capital cannot be encouraged to enter this field unless a charge of two per centum a month is allowed. Experience has proved that the pawnbroking business

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can be done at a slightly lower cost, and that for loans upon salaries a charge of about three per centum should be allowed.

Mr. Ham believes that one of the most unfortunate effects of the money-lending law fiasco in Washington, and one that is already making itself felt, is its influence on many State Legislatures which are at present considering meritorious small loan bills.

The New Balkan War

Last week on the Bulgarian border the Greeks and Servians forced the passes, taking a large number of towns, and getting ever nearer Sofia, the Bulgarian capital. The Greek forces were encouraged by the arrival of about five hundred volunteers from America, who had sailed on the outbreak of the new war. The Rumanians also advanced their troops, informing the Servians and Greeks that if they expected to reach Sofia they would find the Rumanians there first. Most dramatic of all, however, was the Turkish movement, because no one fancied that the Turkish army had the necessary mobility and transport for a rapid and lengthy advance. Not only was Adrianople taken, according to despatches, but a Turkish force seems now to have invaded Bulgaria itself. Turkey has thus created a situation full of dangerous possibilities. She has already presented a note to the Powers claiming that the new frontier, as established by them, may begin, as they decided, at Enos on the Ægean Sea, and end at Midia on the Black Sea; that it should not be a fairly straight line, however, but an enormous curve, so as now to include Adrianople! The reply to this demand is contained in a speech last week by Mr. Asquith, the British Prime Minister: "If Turkey is ill advised enough to set the provisions of the peace treaty at defiance, she must be prepared for the bringing up of questions which it is by no means to her interest to bring into the debate." Again, Mr. Asquith warned Turkey with equal severity that "the Enos-Midia line, which is to bound the European territory of Turkey," was laid down by the Powers, and "they have already appointed experts to trace the actual course of that line." With regard to the prospect of peace, the Premier added that "the Powers have done and are doing everything they can to bring the disputants to a peaceful conference." That conference may be nearer than some think, for King Charles of Rumania has proposed to the Kings of Servia and Greece a cessation of hostilities pending the formal signature of an armistice. This conciliatory disposition should mitigate the resentment felt in Bulgaria at the Rumanian invasion. We hope that King Charles's action may be the beginning of a new period of Balkan progress in civilization, unhappily interrupted as that progress has been by the present shameful war, whose issues seemed to be wholly those of greed. We should remember, however, that the conflict also involves racial jealousies centuries old, and only glossed over during the recent Balkan alliance, which held together so well during the war with Turkey.

The New Chinese Revolution

Last week the Chinese revolution extended to Shanghai. There was heavy fighting between the Federals and the revolutionists at the arsenal there. The arsenal is in Chinese territory, but only a few yards away from the boundary of the international settlement or foreign concession, where reside some fifteen thousand foreigners. The series of spirited attacks on the arsenal was successfully repulsed, and the Government troops were encouraged by this success to assume the offensive. Shanghai is full of refugees from Nanking, Kiukiang, and other cities on the Yangtse River. While the recent revolution, which resulted in the establishment of a republic, found great sympathy in both the foreign commercial community and among the native merchants of Shanghai, the most recent information reports that the merchants have no wish for further revolts. An indication of the seriousness of the situation is the announcement that President Yuan Shi-kai has put a price on the heads of the three principal leaders of the present revolt—that is to say, he has offered rewards for the death of these men, and pardons to any of their followers for killing them. Yuan has always believed in using strong measures when necessary. A few of them seem not to have been over-civilized—indeed, he may be, as has been said of him, "essentially a pagan." Opposed to him is Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a southerner, the inspirer of the recent revolution and the former provisional President of the Republic. Sun has now issued a manifesto backing the present revolution. He declares that just resistance to intolerable tyranny is no rebellion, and, addressing Yuan,

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thus concludes, as reported: "I am determined to oppose you as firmly as I did the Manchus. Retirement is absolutely your only course in the face of the present crisis." Such a manifesto will doubtless inspire the southern revolutionists. But something more than inspiration is needed to make leadership effective. The trouble with Sun is that he has had no experience as an administrator. As has been said of him, "he knows how a foreign government is conducted, but he has not done the conducting himself." On the other hand, the confidence of the world in Yuan was shown when he succeeded in inducing the five Powers to lend an enormous sum of money to put the Chinese Republic on its feet. With the advance payments of this loan, the northern troops, now being regularly supplied with funds, remain loyal to Yuan. As to the southern disaffected troops, it is difficult to see where the opportunity of financing the new revolution will come from, although, of course, there is always the possibility of meeting immediate needs by levying a forced tax. To sum up, three important Chinese provinces have now formally seceded from the Republic, and five more threaten to follow their example. If this occurs, the area of revolution will extend over one-third of China and include more than one-half of its population.

A New China in Religion

We hardly realize the religious change which is sweeping over China. Seventy years ago, on the Chinese coast, says Mr. Sherwood Eddy, General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association for Asia, in writing to The Outlook, a man disguised as a cook on a Chinese junk stole ashore to distribute religious tracts, though in danger of his life. So strong was the opposition to Christianity, indeed, that the missionaries labored for twenty-five years to gain the first ten Chinese converts. From the city of Foochow (Fuchau), for instance, the English were driven out forty years ago, and less than twenty years ago eleven of the missionary community laid down their lives as martyrs. Who would believe that in that very city the old-fashioned, hidebound system of Chinese education would give place to modern colleges in which there are now about twelve thousand students? Mr. Eddy says that in the recent religious meetings the entire Board of Trade of the city voted to join the Young Men's Christian Association, and that the provincial Parliament itself adjourned and invited him to address them. A similar impression was gained from the experiences of Dr. John W. Mott, director of the Young Men's Christian Association's International Committee and of the Association's secretaries in twelve other cities of China. The total result is indicated by Mr. Brockman, secretary for northern China; he says that during the recent tour of the secretaries through China there were more "inquirers" from among the supposedly inaccessible classes—that is to say, the officials, gentry, and literati, or Government student class—than from the same classes during the entire first century of missionary effort! In Japan the student audiences that heard the Association secretaries speak were encouraging because they averaged about eight hundred. In India they averaged a thousand. In China, however, they averaged no less than two thousand. The attendance at no Chinese city exceeded that in Mukden, the capital of Manchuria, namely, five thousand a day. Particularly notable was the attitude of the Governor of the province. Though not a Christian, he was impressed enough with Christianity to pay the expenses for the auditorium where the meetings were held. Among the inquirers at Mukden were thirty-six officials from Government institutions. All these facts indicate that the individual Chinaman is turning to Christianity as never before. In addition, it is not improbable that a solicitude for the success of the new form of government is strengthening the individual religious appeals.

Work Well Done

Readers of the "Century Magazine" who have found it companionable and stimulating these many years, and who are familiar with the important service it has rendered American literature and art, will be specially interested in the July number, the last issue of the magazine which will show the editorial aims and skill of Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson, whose retirement from its editorial direction has been reported in these pages. His hand appears especially in the group of ten poems—two republished and eight original—which the magazine presents to its readers from such writers as Mr. Riley, Mr. Dobson, Dr. van Dyke, Miss Thomas, Mr. Noyes, and Mr. Phillips. This generous provision of poetry is characteristic of the aims and spirit of an editor who has held himself and

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the magazine he has directed consistently loyal to serious literature and to high standards of English writing. Mr. Johnson's fidelity to the ideals of art and to the higher interests of American readers has been widely recognized; his editorial writing in the department "Topics of the Time" has revealed the same quality; it has enforced in morals, politics, and taste the same high standards of expression, of manners, and of action. Mr. Johnson has urged purity of speech, uprightness of political action, and dignity of social life with untiring zeal; he has protested against "short cuts" in language and in education; he has stood in season and out of season for the protection of literary property, for free art, and for beauty in public buildings and in cities. Such a service deserves a more generous recognition than it generally receives from a public which takes what a man has to give and rarely stops to say "thank you." But men who are loyal alike to their ideals and the higher interests of the public have other rewards; chief among them being the consciousness of a work well done.

Work and Long Life

The London "Spectator," commenting several years ago on the number of old men holding foremost positions in the world, said that men were working at least ten years longer than their grandfathers had worked. A generation ago the direction of affairs in Europe was in the hands of a group of old men: Gladstone, Beaconsfield, Bismarck, Gortschakoff, Cavour, Pope Leo. The London "Chronicle" recently called attention to the large number of old men who are active in various professions. Lord Strathcona, who has long been one of the foremost men in Canada, and who is said to be one of the largest landowners in the world, is ninety-two, and enforces and illustrates the gospel of moderation in all things. Sir Andrew Clark, the distinguished physician, said to Lord Strathcona a few years ago that there was no reason why he should not live to be a hundred "if only you will keep on working." Work and the interest which goes with it is undoubtedly a determining element in longevity. The living brain keeps the body alive, which is probably the reason why intellectual men have the greatest chance of long life. The elderly man of active habits who retires, not only from business but from all kinds of work, invites rapid decline of vitality. But there must be moderation in work; an old man cannot drive his faculties with impunity. An able American who died not long ago in the eighties made it a rule not to work when he was tired. The Outlook commented recently on a new book by Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, who has reached the age of ninety, having outlived a brilliant group of scientists of whom he was the contemporary. Cheerfulness is another element of longevity. Sir George Birdwood is quoted by a correspondent of the New York "Sun" as declaring that this is the day of "the old man of vitality," and as attributing his active age to "a certain playful deviltry of spirit." Lord Wemyss is driving a motor car at ninety-four, and plays a good game of golf. At eighty-five Lord Halsbury began the work of codifying, or at least condensing, the whole body of English law into twenty volumes. These veterans who decline to be placed on the retired list differ in their habits, but they all agree in emphasizing work as the best conservator of youth. In Shakespeare's time a man was old at forty; and, as the result of dissipation during the period of the Restoration, English public life was full of invalidism in the days of Queen Anne and the early Georges; but the air of the country and its habits of life are now favorable to sustained activity in old age. A list of Americans who, like Mr. Bigelow, Dr. Eliot, and Mr. Choate, have kept their energies while judiciously lightening their burdens, would be interesting and significant. In old Japan men were expected to retire from activity at sixty; in modern Japan there is no age limit; there is no man more prominent in all enterprises that concern the welfare of the nation than Baron Shibusawa, whose service to the public under the old system would have ended fifteen years ago.

Los Angeles and Esperanto

An interesting and apparently fruitful method of advertising a city has recently been tried by the Los Angeles Board of Trade. A young lecturer, equipped with a stereopticon, was sent through Europe to preach the "doctrine" of Southern California. Mr. Parrish, the lecturer, spoke no foreign tongue, yet despite this handicap delivered one hundred and twenty-seven lectures before audiences in twenty-five different countries. Practically all these lectures were delivered in Esperanto—the new artificial "auxiliary" language. Very evidently he made himself

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intelligible to most of his hearers, for since his return more than three thousand letters asking for further information have arrived in the California city. His success may be taken as proof, not only of the attractiveness of Los Angeles, but of the surprising growth in the use of Esperanto. Mr. Parrish traveled from Norway to Persia, from Russia to Algiers, and in every city which he visited found groups of men and women with whom he could easily converse and to whom he could advantageously lecture. Apparently the uses to which Esperanto may be put are not wholly utilitarian, for during his stay in Copenhagen Mr. Parrish met, courted, and won the hand of a Danish-Esperantist maiden who spoke no English at all. Perhaps, however, this evidence of the value of Esperanto should not be considered as too conclusive, for similar instances might be cited where the contracting parties have not even had the advantage of a common tongue. Speech is sometimes more of a convenience than a necessity. The following sample of Esperanto, taken from a pamphlet issued by the Los Angeles Board of Trade, may perhaps prove of interest to many unfamiliar with its appearance. As will be seen at a glance, Latin furnishes the basis for most of the words. The terminal "j" which dots the quotation so prominently is the sign of the plural. Much of the passage, which recounts the derivation of the name "Los Angeles" and explains some of the causes for that city's rapid growth, can be understood by any one familiar with even one Romance tongue:

La originala nomo de la vilaĝo laŭ la tiama kutimo ĉe latinaj rasoj, kiuj donis religiajn nomojn al lokoj, estis "Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles," kelkfoje skribita "Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Angeles," tio estas, "Nia Sinjorino, la Regino de la Aĝeloj." La praktikaj usonanoj mallongigis tiun nomon ĝis Los Angeles. Dum la pasintaj tridek jaroj la loĝantaro de Los Angeles kreskis de 11,000 homoj en la jaro 1880 ĝis 102,479 laŭ la denombrado en 1900; kaj la nuna loĝantaro estas 365,000 homoj. Estas tri kialoj por tia pligrandiĝo; nome, la situacio de la urbo, ĝia klimato, kaj ĝia tero. Nur unu el tiuj sufiĉus por kreskigi grandan urbon; triope do ili certigas estontan grandecon por Los Angeles, la sudokcidenta metropolo.

King Alfonso has recently sanctioned the establishment of Esperanto classes in the University of Madrid and in numerous Spanish schools. In Paris such well-known stores as the "Louvre" and the "Bon Marché" have found it advisable to have interpreters familiar with Esperanto. Over one hundred magazines and newspapers are now published in the artificial language. As a purely commercial proposition Esperanto seems to be making rapid and continued growth.

INTERNATIONAL BIG BROTHERHOOD

We give elsewhere an account of the proposed action of the Federal Administration in the case of Nicaragua, which may not improbably lead on to similar action in the case of other Central American republics. It is equally easy to overestimate and to underestimate the ultimate effect of this policy if the treaty proposed with Nicaragua is adopted by both countries; but it is quite certain that it may possibly lead to a protectorate over all Central America, with all the obligations and responsibilities which such a protectorate would involve, and it must be remembered that this would involve obligations to the European Powers as well as to the Central American republics.

The Outlook is heartily in favor of the general features of the proposed policy.

A rich, strong nation owes a duty to the less wealthy and weaker nations at its border, just as a rich, strong man owes a duty to his less wealthy and weaker neighbors. There is an international duty of neighborliness. The proposed protectorate over Nicaragua is a Big Brother policy, We welcome it.

In past times the weaker nation has feared its stronger neighbor, and with reason. Every movement looking toward closer relation between the two has been viewed with suspicion. The suspicion has been justified. It is not strange, therefore, that at the beginning of the Spanish-American War all Europe and many Americans anticipated the occupation of Cuba by America for America's enrichment; not strange that an anti-imperialist party should arise in America, with two wings—one of which objected to the occupation of the Philippines because occupation was thought to be for the enrichment of the Americans at the expense of the Filipinos, the other because occupation would cost America much and give her little or nothing. But the American people have gone forward with their Big Brother policy with a remarkable consistency. They have not attempted to make anything out of Cuba. They have returned to the treasury of Porto Rico all the Federal

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taxes collected from the island, whether by customs dues or by internal revenue taxation. They have spent a considerable sum in protecting the Philippines both from foreign foes and from internal anarchy, and have received very little in return. They have adhered steadfastly, in the face of much misunderstanding and misreport, to the policy of preparing as rapidly as possible the communities under their control for self-government. In view of this past history, we have a reasonable right to be trusted by the people of the Central American republics and an absolute right to be free from the cynical and unjust suspicion of ulterior and selfish motives by our own American citizens.

Americans have no desire for territorial aggrandizement. They have all the territory and more than all the political problems they want. This is not to claim for them any extraordinary virtue. The Old World has a surplus population and needs territory. America has surplus territory and needs population. The Old World needs land, the New World needs people. When Americans get new territory, Americans do not flock to it. There are very few native Americans in Porto Rico, Hawaii, or the Philippines. It is a misnomer to call our insular possessions colonies.

And Americans have no political ambition to govern other peoples. The duty of governing other peoples has been forced upon them and accepted by them with reluctance. This duty will be gladly relinquished when relinquishment is consonant with honor. If America could be practically assured that Cuba could and would protect herself from foreign domination and from domestic anarchy, that San Domingo could and would so administer her finances as to pay her creditors honestly and promptly, and that the people of Porto Rico and the Philippines could and would establish and maintain on those islands a genuine government of the people, by the people, and for the people, there would not be a minority of Americans large enough to count who would not be quite ready to withdraw and leave those communities to manage their own affairs in their own way.

Americans have no desire to annex, or to govern without annexation, either Mexico or Central America or any of the West Indian islands. They only wish to perform the duties of Big Brother to their weaker neighbors and help them in every practical way to secure for themselves a government democratic enough to insure liberty and strong enough to insure justice.

We believe that the Administration in the proposed treaty with Nicaragua interprets aright the spirit of the American people, a spirit full of good will toward the Central American republics and alike free from land covetousness and from political ambition.

JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

"We must treat with justice and good will all immigrants who come here under the law. Whether they are Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile, whether they come from England or Germany, Russia, Japan, or Italy, matters nothing. All we have a right to question is the man's conduct. If he is honest and upright in his dealings with his neighbor and with the State, he is entitled to respect and good treatment. Especially do we need to remember our duty to the stranger within our gates. It is the sure mark of a low civilization, a low morality, to abuse or discriminate against or in any way humiliate such a stranger who has come here lawfully and is conducting himself properly. To remember this is incumbent on every American citizen, and it is, of course, peculiarly incumbent on every Government official, whether of the Nation or of the several States."

Every fair-minded American will agree with the sentiment expressed in the foregoing extract from Mr. Roosevelt's Message to Congress of December 31, 1906. It is dangerous, indecent, and un-American, to say nothing of its being unchristian, for any individual or any State to attempt to insult or humiliate the Japanese residents of this country.

In so far as the recent California legislation on the land question was prompted by jealousy, malice, envy, or a desire to humiliate Japanese landholders because of their success, it is to be unsparingly condemned, and we believe that these phases of the California agitation are condemned by the best sentiment of the country.

In so far, however, as the California legislation was prompted by sincere and honest desire to take time by the forelock and avoid in the future the race and immigration difficulties which during its hundred years of

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existence this country has had to struggle with more than any other country in the civilized world, the action of the California Legislature must be frankly, honestly, and patiently considered.

The hundred millions of people now inhabiting the United States must be a united people, not merely a collection of groups of different peoples with different racial cultures and ideals, agreeing to live in peace and amity. These hundred millions must have common ideals, common aims, common customs, a common culture, a common language, and common characteristics if the Nation is to endure.

What happens without this unity is pertinently and painfully illustrated this very moment in the Balkan States and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The inhabitants of this great empire are not Austrians, as they should be; they are Magyars, Croatians, Serbs, Slavs, Teutons. The natural result is that the Austro-Hungarian Empire is held together chiefly by force imposed from above and not by natural cohesion from within.

If in our country the Scandinavians of Minnesota thought of themselves first as Scandinavians, or the Germans of Cincinnati thought of themselves as Germans, or the Italians of New York City thought of themselves as Italians, or the Irish of Boston thought of themselves as Irish, each of these races giving their highest and most loyal allegiance in spirit and in action to their native land, we should be one of the most hopeless people on the face of the earth.

Fortunately for us all, by far the greatest majority of the so-called foreign-born people and their children are loyal Americans of the most genuine type. Where, through our own neglect or through their own preference, they do not become Americanized, there is at once trouble.

Large numbers of French Canadians in northern New England prefer to remain French, and social, political, and industrial friction is the result. Large numbers of Southern Italians or of Poles and Huns are neglected and sometimes disdained in the manufacturing or mining communities in which they live. This produces conflict and hatred. One of the largest and best-managed manufacturing corporations in New England has just employed a gentleman familiar with Italy and the Italian people to come to its town in order to show it and the Italians it employs how the latter may become in very truth Americans. The instinct for American solidarity is becoming stronger, not weaker, and all our immigration problems should be studied and dealt with from the point of view of this solidarity of spirit and purpose.

The Japanese question resolves itself into this: How can we recognize the Japanese people as our world neighbors, as deserving our sincere respect and regard, as having accomplished political, military, industrial, and intellectual achievements that place them in the very first rank of modern nations, and yet preserve our American solidarity within our own borders?

The spirit in which we should attempt a solution of this problem is completely and admirably interpreted by Mr. Mabie in the article entitled "Americans and the Far East," which will be found in another place. But definite action is as requisite as a fine spirit for the settlement of a great international problem. The California Legislature has created an *impasse*, or, if it has not created it, it has at least revealed it. We suggest the following propositions as the basis of practical action in getting out of this *impasse*:

I. Allow Japan to regulate emigration to the United States (as she is now doing) with the renewed understanding between our Government and hers that she is not to permit emigration *en masse* or in even such a volume or of such a kind as would be socially, economically, or politically embarrassing to us in the Pacific Coast States.

II. Grant the right of naturalization to individual Japanese of proper personal qualifications who are now permanently settled in the United States and to individual Japanese who may hereafter come here under the terms of the understanding mentioned in the foregoing paragraph—such applicants for naturalization being required to present a passport from the Japanese Government with the indorsement "expatriation authorized" as a guarantee that the Japanese Government approves of the bearer's abandonment of Japanese allegiance.

III. Give the American Government in its agreement with the Japanese Government the expressed right to exclude without appeal all Japanese immigrants who do not come to this country with proper passports from their own Government and to deport all found here without such papers. This assumes, of course, that the Japanese now here will be given the opportunity to obtain, if their right to them can be shown, the necessary passports.

If such an arrangement as this were carried out in good faith on both sides, the United States would have ample protection from anything like a flood of Japanese immi-

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gration, and Japan would have the assurance that Japanese individuals qualified to visit this country as travelers, students, and merchants or to reside permanently in this country would be treated with the respect to which they would be fully entitled as men of a high degree of intelligence and capacity.

Until some such permanent *modus vivendi* as we have outlined can be established, the only immediate course of action that seems to us possible is to obtain a decision from the courts as to the rights of Japanese landholders in this country. Whether this decision shall result from a test case initiated by a Japanese landholder or by the United States Government is a question which must be practically determined by the Administration after a study of the relation of the Japanese Treaty to the Webb Law.

LIFE, GROWTH, AND HEAVEN

When people thought of the life of man as the expression of a divine purpose mysteriously frustrated, and of the earth as a great ship which had drifted onto the rocks and from which a few fortunate souls were saved by supernatural lifeboats, Heaven was a harbor for those who survived the great disaster. The supreme effort was to save one's self in a lost world; and to land in safety was to be in a state of bliss—a fixed condition of perpetual thanksgiving for rescue.

There were always those to whom a vision of the divine nature brought a divine thought of Heaven, and for whom, behind the most literal and rigid conception, there was a glory like a golden sunset behind a sharply defined landscape. In the ordered world of Dante, the static world of the Middle Ages, Heaven was a place of ineffable beauty bathed in the white light of perfect holiness. But it was still primarily a place of safety; the very whiteness testified to the blackness of the world. That world had been succeeded by a Heaven in which those who had escaped the great condemnation chanted their gratitude in unending songs of praise. Heaven was a static state of bliss.

The Middle Ages differed fundamentally from the modern age in the omnipresence of the thought of death and the absence of the idea of progress. The mediæval imagination was obsessed with the thought of death; it haunted the happiest hours; its shadow fell on the noblest companionship; it lay in wait at every turn of the road; art made it terrible by a ghastly realism; Everyman was always moving, reluctant and shrinking, to his open grave; the symbols on the tombs were the symbols of mortality; the image of the crucified Christ faced one on all sides, the risen Christ was seen only over a few great altars.

And the mediæval world was stationary; men stood in fixed ranks and expected to remain in the state in which they were born. Society was arranged, so to speak, in tiers, like the audience in a great opera-house. Rank rose above rank, and the doors between the ranks were closed. Now and again a great man broke through the barriers and made his way from the lower to the higher places; but, outside the priesthood, the fixed order seemed to mark the permanent structure of society. Of the forward movement of humanity, of a divine intention enfolding all things and bearing them onward, of an "increasing purpose" running through the ages and making history significant, there was no thought save in a few prophetic minds.

To-day the thoughts of men are dominated by life, and death has become an incident in the unbroken life of the spirit; an incident enveloped in mystery, but still an incident, not a final, decisive event. We accept no obstacles to life as insurmountable; the insane are no longer given over to hopeless madness; the lepers are not driven away with stones and curses and compelled to proclaim themselves unclean; punishment for crime is no longer torture—it is corrective, like the surgeon's knife; blindness is no longer a state of helplessness—the blind are taught to see with their minds; defective children are educated; and society, accepting no defect or degradation as final, is becoming a great organization for overcoming disease with health and death with life. The memorials of those whom we call dead are no longer the skull and crossbones, the hour-glass and the skeleton; they recall great moments thrilling with life—Farragut with his field-glass in his hand, Sherman riding to victory, Lincoln erect and commanding in the majesty of his noble simplicity. Even the mysterious figure in the Washington cemetery, from the hand of the most distinguished of American sculptors, is charged with vitality as it stands, baffled for the moment, but with unspent power. The figure which dominates the religious imagination of the world is not the

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dying but the living Christ, who brought life and immortality to light, and who came that men might have life more abundantly.

And to a static has succeeded a dynamic world; a world that was not made but has grown and still grows like the living thing it is; not a noble piece of mechanism finished by the hand of God and sent whirling into space to move by an impulse imparted once for all in the pre-beginning of things, but the thought and purpose of the Infinite taking form and motion, sustained moment by moment by the power of God, the witness of his constant presence, the imitation of his thought, growing hour by hour under his hand. And society is no longer stationary, but becomes more and more a living and growing organism, enlarging its vision of opportunity, opening its doors, adapting its institutions to the needs of its deepening and widening life. For that which is divine and immortal in the world is not social and political institutions, but the human spirit; and that which is permanent and fundamental is not the order of society, but the will and purpose and power of God behind the confusion of change and the restlessness of movement. "In Him we live and move and have our being."

More and more the thoughts of men turn to the future of the race; more and more they realize that they have only a life interest in the treasures of civilization which God has placed in their hands, and that these things must be used not selfishly, but passed on to those who are to come after them; more and more they realize their duty to children; more and more they see that the earth ought not to be primarily a workshop and incidentally a home, but primarily a home and incidentally a workshop. They believe in the upward movement of the race, and they stand ready to help it. The modern mind is dominated by the thought of Life; and the inspiration of the modern world is its faith in Progress, which is the social application and expression of the thought of Life.

The life of the world is still full of pain and strife; and Heaven is a refuge in the thought of those upon whom crushing burdens have been laid and to whom the breath of life has meant sorrow and anguish. Heaven must always be a refuge; but it must be infinitely more. Eternity is too long for rest after the struggle of earthly life; and the fatigue of the body is not the fatigue of the spirit. The sorrows of childhood overspread the whole sky and blot out the sun; but they are forgotten the next day. It may be that the first breath in the next stage of life will make disease and sorrow a faint memory.

Nor will the chief thought of the state of being we call Heaven be a sense of rescue from a great peril; it will be a sense of joy in a glorious vision of the possibilities of the fuller life. Of those possibilities no man has yet dreamed; though sometimes there come moments of rapture when, for a second of time, one feels the capacity of immortal joys within him. As earth was a place of stationary orders, so was Heaven, in the thoughts of many noble souls in the Middle Ages, a place of stationary bliss, where choirs ceaselessly thank God for deliverance.

But there is, here on earth, a nobler expression of thanksgiving than the giving of thanks. Far sweeter to a noble father is his son's noble use of the opportunities put in his way than any words of gratitude; far sweeter that son's growth in mind and character, in usefulness and influence, than any expression of thanks. Love finds its supreme reward in the fulfillment of its highest hopes for child or friend.

Heaven must always be a place of refuge; but that will be only the beginning of the happiness it offers, only the look backward at the starting-point of a glorious liberation of the spirit. And Heaven must always be a place of gratitude; but the sweetest praise of the Infinite must be the fulfillment in His children of the divine possibilities He has wrought into their natures.

Life and growth, the divine elements in the life of man on this earth, must be the elements of man's life in all worlds, and the supreme bliss which we call Heaven must be not only escape from the limitations of earth and from the evil in the world, but complete liberation of the spirit, strength of heart for all service, vigor of mind for all truth, purity of nature for the vision of God. Heaven is not the backward but the forward look, not skirting the shore in gladness that the perils of the voyage are over, but spreading the sail with confident gladness and seeking port after port in the sublime adventure of the spirit seeking God. In that adventure Heaven will become an ineffable joy in the fulfillment of the potencies of life; not in rest, but in flight without fatigue; not in folding of the arms, but in tireless growth, will be the bliss which we call Heaven.

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THE REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA

Wide interest was excited last week by the proposal to expand a treaty already under negotiation between the United States and Nicaragua so as to include provisions similar to those in the Platt Amendment relating to Cuba. The proposal is reported and commented upon elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook. We believe that our readers will like to learn also the character, resources, and history of the Central American Republic now under discussion.—THE EDITORS.

OF all the Central American States, Nicaragua has the greatest area. The country is almost exactly as large as New York State.

The population of Nicaragua is about six hundred thousand; that would give about twelve inhabitants to each square mile. There are few Europeans in Nicaragua. The great mass of its population consists of Indians, Negroes, mulattoes, and mixed races. The population descends chiefly from the native Indians, from their Spanish conquerors, and from the slaves introduced during the colonial period. Intermarriage with other South Americans, and also with Europeans, has further complicated the race situation. Hence in Nicaragua we find half-castes with European features and Indians with fair hair and blue eyes.

Despite the fact that there is hardly any immigration, the population is increasing with great rapidity. Among the Europeans in Nicaragua the Spanish element is naturally the most prominent.

The capital of Nicaragua is Managua, a city of some thirty-five thousand people. It is situated on the Lake of Managua. The largest city in the Republic, however, is Leon, with about sixty-three thousand people. The chief ports are San Juan del Sur on the Pacific, and Bluefields and Greytown—the latter known to the Nicaraguans as San Juan del Norte—on the Gulf of Mexico.

PRODUCTS AND TRADE

Nicaragua is a land descending from high mountains on the west to the monotonous Caribbean shore. The mountains are close to the Pacific coast, but between them and the Atlantic coast are highlands, plateaus, rivers, and lakes—the last-named feature being the most remarkable of any in Nicaragua. Thus, unlike most American countries, the development of Nicaragua is from west to east, rather than from east to west, as is indicated by the fact that its Pacific port of Corinto is its most important port.

Nicaragua is a typically tropical country. It is a very rich country naturally. Its three main sources of wealth are agriculture, timber, and mining. In agriculture the chief product is coffee. The coffee estates are largely in American and German hands. Another important agricultural product is cocoa. It is grown chiefly in the South along the Pacific coast. Sugar is also widely cultivated. Tobacco is also grown; the leaf is good, but as it is not well cured it is not exported. Like many another region bordering the Caribbean Sea, Nicaragua finds a profitable export in bananas, which are grown in large quantities, especially near Bluefields on the Gulf of Mexico.

As to timber, the Nicaraguan forests contain splendid mahogany and cedar trees, the wood from which is largely exported. The forests also contain many valuable die woods, gums, and medicinal plants. Rubber is also grown there.

As to mining, the gold mines are very important and are worked by American and British companies. The gold export sometimes averages a million dollars a year.

Nicaragua trades with the outside world, but the volume of commerce might be greatly extended. Of the exports about a third come to this country; the rest go chiefly to Great Britain, Germany, and France. Of the imports more than half come from this country, and the remainder mostly from the three countries above mentioned.

TRANSPORTATION

At Corinto the steamers of four shipping companies, two American and two German, now regularly visit the port. The only railway in Nicaragua is the so-called National Railway, an American concern having a total length of about 170 miles. The line runs from Corinto to Leon, Managua, and other cities. On the various lakes steamers ply, as well as on the San Juan River. These lakes furnish, from end to end, about a hundred and fifty miles of navigation. There are, unfortunately, few good wagon roads in Nicaragua.

The most immediate need in Nicaragua is for means of transportation. Even now in the plateaus the transportation is mainly effected by means of pack mules over very

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CENTRAL AMERICA

rough roads. It is understood that the sum asked from the United States in return for the right to construct a future Nicaraguan canal and for the rights in the Bay of Fonseca would be used to improve transportation.

GOVERNMENT AND DEFENSE

The Republic of Nicaragua is under a new Constitution. It went into effect something over a year ago. By it the power to make laws is vested in a Congress of one House. The House has thirty-six members. They are elected for six years by universal suffrage.

The power to execute the laws is vested in a President. He also enjoys a six-year term. The present President is Señor Adolfo Diaz. Assisting him is a Cabinet or Council made up of the heads of departments of Foreign Affairs and Public Instruction, Finance, Public Works, War and Navy, Interior, and Justice. Subordinate executive power is exercised by the heads of the thirteen districts into which Nicaragua is divided.

The judicial power is vested in numerous courts of first instance, in three Courts of Appeal, and in a Supreme Court.

The active army of Nicaragua consists of four thousand men, but in time of war they can be expanded to forty thousand. The Nicaraguan navy consists of ten petty steamers.

EDUCATION AND RELIGION

It is surprising to learn that a country of such limited area has over three hundred and fifty elementary schools, ten colleges, and two universities. As in the rest of Latin America, the prevailing form of religion is the Roman Catholic. Nicaragua, however, has no prelate of higher rank than bishop. The Bishop of Leon, whose diocese is the whole region, is a Suffragan of the Archbishop of Guatemala.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL

In the minds of most Americans, Nicaragua's greatest distinction has been in its site for a canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Republic of Nicaragua hoped for great things from the proposed and long-discussed Nicaragua Canal. For years it seemed a certainty that the Canal would be built. When, at last, the Panama route was preferred, Nicaraguan hopes were dashed to the ground. But the Nicaragua Canal may be revived one day. If so, the Nicaraguan Government has in the treaty now under consideration offered to the American Government an opportunity to secure the right of constructing it.

FINANCE

Like every other government, the Nicaraguan Government needs money. A review of the financial history of Nicaragua shows that it has been necessary at various times to borrow large sums for legitimate expenses. Whether the sums were always devoted to those expenses is a question. Be that as it may, Nicaragua owes to her own people a debt variously estimated at from $2,000,000 to $10,000,000, and to foreigners notably the French debt of 1905 of $2,500,000 at five per cent and the British six per cent loan

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of $5,250,000 issued in 1909. Two years ago the Nicaraguan Government asked ours to place its finances on practically the same basis as are the Domingan finances. In Santo Domingo, at the Domingan Government's request, we took possession of the custom-houses in 1905, declaring that revolutions might come and go elsewhere, but not in those customs precincts, and that in the interests of the foreign creditors we would superintend the collection of the customs. What is the result? While half of the customs collection goes to satisfy the creditors, the other half, handed back to the Domingan Government, is greater than was the whole amount formerly collected by it! As about the same economic conditions existed in Nicaragua, and its foreign creditors had long been pressing the depleted Nicaraguan treasury, the only hope seemed to be that our Government would take hold of the situation, and by collecting the customs produce enough revenue to satisfy these creditors. Accordingly, the Nicaraguan Government agreed not to alter any import or export customs duties during the existence of the foreign loans, and to appoint, from a list of names to be presented and approved by the President of the United States, collectors of customs.

But, for fear of a supposed Wall Street domination, a majority of the members of our Congress declined to ratify the treaty. Had it been put in operation, the most recent revolution in Nicaragua might never have occurred. Under any circumstances, the removal of the collecting function from local control always removes a chief incentive to revolution. The greed of revolutionists is inevitably excited by the graft to be had by even a brief control of the custom-houses. Secondly, in this particular instance the situation became quickly acute when the bankers who had been supplying the Nicaraguan Government with funds declined to advance any more. Their refusal was due to the refusal of our Congress to ratify the above-mentioned treaty.

HISTORY

Of all the Latin republics, Nicaragua has seemed the most incorrigibly turbulent. Revolution has apparently been its normal condition. Revolutions have ruined the Republic. They have also wrought havoc to American interests there. A striking instance occurred recently when our railway in Nicaragua was menaced and when the Nicaraguan authorities could no longer protect our citizens and property. Bluejackets were landed from our gunboats at Bluefields and Corinto to protect Americans against the revolutionists who were operating regardless of the rules of war—firing upon churches and hospitals, and even upon the American Legation. Our marines were posted at various points where there was danger, and also where it was necessary to keep the communication open along our railway from our Legation at Managua, the capital, to the Pacific coast.

If this internal danger were not enough, there was an external danger—the attempts on the part of "emigrados politicos," or agitators from other countries, to enter Nicaragua and join in the general carnage, with the hope of ultimately possessing the land. Concerning this, the Nicaraguan Government protested to the other Central American republics, citing the treaty of 1907, by which, under the protection of the United States and Mexico, the various Central American States had undertaken to prevent meddling in each other's affairs. As a fundamental principle, they had agreed to regard every measure which tended to alter the constitutional organization of any one of them as a menace to the peace of all. Hence they had agreed not to permit political refugees to reside in districts bordering on the country whose peace they might disturb. Each Government had also agreed not to allow the use of any of its territory as a base of such operations against a neighboring government. Of course the Nicaraguan revolution put the treaty of 1907 to the test. That test disclosed indubitable causes for fear that Nicaragua, already enfeebled from within, might become still more so from without.

For all these reasons the representatives of the foreign Powers in Nicaragua united with the Nicaraguan Government in a request to our Government to intervene. In the history of our hemisphere this double appeal is notable. It showed, first, the instinctive reliance of the European ministers and consuls upon our Government for the protection of all foreign life and property in Central America, thus indicating our natural responsibility; and, second, the equally natural reliance of the Nicaraguan Government that the United States Government could help it out of all its straits. This was well put at the time by ex-President Estrada. He declared that under any circumstances Nicaragua would never thrive without the active help of the

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United States Government. "Do you want a sort of American protectorate?" he was asked. "Yes," he answered, "a protectorate along the lines exercised in Cuba and Panama, without, of course, impairing sovereignty. We want the United States Government, whether it be Republican or Democratic, to keep an eye upon us, to supervise our elections; in a word, to become the arbiter and judge of our destinies." The sentiment of the Taft Administration, then in power, was reflected in a note from the Department of State to the United States Minister at Managua. The note declared that the Government of the United States "will lend its strong moral support to the cause of legally constituted good government for the benefit of the people of Nicaragua. . . . The United States has *a moral mandate* (the italics are ours) to exert its influence for the preservation of the general peace of Central America."

The result of all the misrule in Nicaragua is seen first of all in its currency. As a recent traveler there says, "a paper dollar may be worth fifteen cents one day and seventeen the next, with profitable results for the usurers, but not for the average citizen."

Second, the results of misrule may be seen in the values of land. The San Juan River divides Nicaragua from Costa Rica, but land of equal fertility on the Nicaraguan side sells for about one-fifth as much as on the Costa Rican side.

Again, the result of misrule is seen in the domain of education. Despite the number of schools, only a small percentage of people can read and write, and even they have little opportunity of knowing what is passing in the outside world.

Nicaragua is a rich land, but man has made it a poor land. The United States Government is its near neighbor. The history of the past two years has shown that the United States can help Nicaragua materially and morally.

SECRETARY BRYAN AND THE CHAUTAUQUA LECTURES

A POLL OF THE PRESS

SECRETARY BRYAN is by no means a stranger to criticism, but the storm of comment aroused by his statement that he must supplement his salary of twelve thousand dollars a year as Secretary of State by lecturing on the Chautauqua circuit seems to have surprised even that veteran of three Presidential campaigns. Critics of Mr. Bryan have been quick to note the fact that the "Great American Commoner" has already no inconsiderable fortune laid by for a rainy day, and that he certainly knew what the salary would be when he accepted the highest post in the Cabinet. They lay stress on the difficult problems now before the State Department, and ask whether a Secretary whole-heartedly devoted to his work would think of taking a six weeks' vacation at such a time. Other critics still more hostile suggest that Mr. Bryan, in absenting himself from Washington at this crucial moment, is rendering the best services of which he is capable to the Department of State. This is the view of the Chicago "Inter Ocean" (Rep.). Naturally there are many who feel that Secretary Bryan, in proclaiming the inadequacy of his twelve thousand dollars a year, has deserted the cause of "the people." They feel much as did the English Laborites when John Burns first donned the uniform of a Minister of the Crown. Their comment may be summed up by the first lines of Browning's "Lost Leader:"

> "Just for a handful of silver he left us—
> Just for a riband to stick in his coat!"

Of these latter critics the Los Angeles "Tribune" (Ind.) may be taken as an excellent example:

> Most of the other commoners are blinking their eyes uncertainly over the "explanation" of their patron saint, the great Commoner, that he must have more money or suffer an inadequate, unhappy existence. All a man really needs in this life is sufficient food, comfortable shelter, and enough currency to minister to normal intellectual tastes. Everything beyond these is classed among the luxuries.
>
> Now comes Mr. Bryan urging that after netting $10,000 a year for some fifteen years, and with a present salary of $12,000, he must eke out enough more away from his desk to live in the style to which he has been accustomed. His plight may appeal to the sympathies of plutocrats who flick away many $12,000 bagatelles on

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passing whims, but hardly of the millions of real commoners who have thought differently about his social standards.

It would have been more like the old Bryan to have explained that he had so long lived close to the people that he could not now immure himself in a palatial marble building at Washington, surrounded by hateful symbols of luxury. But to justify his wanderlust with a frank desire for more lucre, and to double the shock by degrading his once militant weekly, 'The Commoner,' into a monthly—well, somehow it seems like a different Bryan, and his old admirers, including the "Tribune," are too dazed to think clearly on it.

The Peoria "Herald-Transcript," while attacking Mr. Bryan's position in no uncertain terms, nevertheless admits that there are certainly some mitigating circumstances which it would be well for thoughtful Americans to take into consideration:

Mr. Bryan is not a poor man. In many communities he would be regarded as wealthy. He accepted the position of Secretary of State with full knowledge of the responsibilities and requirements of the job.

He has made a sorry spectacle of his poverty and has evinced a degree of selfishness and lack of dignity and patriotism which must have shocked his friends and amazed his enemies, yet, after all, there is a serious side to Mr. Bryan's plaint; economically, he is right. Politics is becoming a more expensive occupation year by year.

It is an enemy to business. Men who serve the public faithfully and honestly must neglect their business. If they do not neglect their business, it is because they use their official position for business purposes. It is not politics and business, but politics or business.

What is the remedy? There are only two: either make salaries sufficiently high to attract responsible men who have independent means, or make politics itself a profession. Why shouldn't politics be a profession, as it is in the Old World? There is a serious side to Mr. Bryan's complaint which the American people may well ponder.

The Philadelphia "Ledger" (Ind.), however, sees no silver lining to the cloud that hangs over the Secretary's reputation as a public official. Or, rather, it appears to believe that both cloud and lining are of solid silver:

The man is money mad; he has lost all sense of proportion; he glibly demonstrates that, in his inordinate congenital egotism, he actually believes that he is doing the American Nation a signal favor by sacrificing himself and a part of his chances to tuck away each year his "usual $10,000" of savings above his expenses, by taking charge of the affairs of state. He makes himself ridiculous and casts ridicule upon the Nation by his stupid, scullion-like "dollar patriotism" which he measures by the hard and fast rule of his opportunity to add to his great hoard of accumulated capital. This enemy of capital, this disturber of the peace, this champion of manhood and patriotism against greed, this wordy haranguer on the sacred duty of tearing up the body politic by the roots rather than permit the "dollar to be put above the man," places his own dollars above his country and all mankind.

The Chicago "Evening Post" does not take so serious a view of the situation. It looks on the question as one of bad taste and bad politics, rather than of definite wrong-doing. Moreover, the "Post" does not for an instant believe that Mr. Bryan will permit his work in Washington to suffer. The "Post" says:

The Secretary of State has been credited generally with the possession of political sense. To-day any one can say, without much fear of solid contradiction, that the Secretary finally has made a bad break politically. Mr. Bryan has sinned against good taste. It can be taken pretty much as a sure thing that the people have no objection to Mr. Bryan's determination to continue his Chautauqua lectures. They simply don't like his public complaint that they are bad paymasters and that he cannot live on a salary which would supply some Americans with money enough to live on until they are ready to pass over. Mr. Bryan ought to lecture when the public service does not demand his time, for he is a good preacher, and in many things a good educator.

We doubt if there is any one with the slightest knowledge of the Secretary's character and temperament who thinks for a moment that he will allow his lecture engagements to take one minute of his time away from his public duties. Senator Bristow knows that Mr. Bryan is no shirk, and the Senator knows also that neither money nor personal considerations can make the Secretary neglectful of his duty to the Department of State. Mr. Bristow's action in the Senate was a bit of the cheapest kind of politics.

The Charleston "News and Courier" (Dem.) is still more emphatic in its approval of the course taken by Secretary Bryan. The "Courier" regards the agitation over the Chautauqua lectures as a bit of partisan politics. It commends the Secretary's frankness and honesty. The "Courier" is evidently a firm believer in the tradition of Democratic simplicity, and sees no conflict between this tradition and the action of the Secretary of State:

The Republicans, and especially the Republicans of the East, persist in imagining that the American people lack confidence in Mr. Bryan. They fancy that they have but to shout "Bryan!" to win a victory. In the matter of delivering, during his vacation, certain Chautauqua lectures Mr. Bryan has, as is his custom, spoken plainly and fully. He has concealed nothing, and the people understand exactly what his attitude is. That always has been his habit, and therein lies the secret of the faith of the people in him. It is foreign wholly to the habit of the astute

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gentlemen of business who have been in power in Washington, and they and their friends complain. They are nonplused, and they resent the frankness of these Democrats as a departure, without notice, from the traditional rules of their game. What Mr. Bryan earns he earns openly, and he is neither ashamed nor afraid to talk about it. He is entitled to a vacation, and he prefers to use part of it in lecturing. The private work that he engages in for a few weeks is that of a public teacher; that is what the people regard it, and he accepts compensation for it, as all other teachers, including those who teach from the pulpit, do.

Most of Secretary Bryan's critics view the incident as a plain violation of business ethics. To them Secretary Bryan resembles a physician who leaves a sick patient to care for some one else willing, or able, to pay a larger fee. They believe that Mr. Bryan either should not have "taken the case," or, having taken it, should see the matter through to the end. The question whether his outside work is done in vacation or "term time" does not enter into this calculation. If Secretary Bryan is given, or takes, a vacation, it should be solely on the ground that a vacation will make him a better public servant. Secretary Bryan may need a rest, but that "rest" belongs to the Nation.

Taken in this connection, of particular interest is this comment by the "Argus-Leader" (Rep.), of Sioux Falls, South Dakota. It comes from a region where all public thought has been profoundly affected through Secretary Bryan's influence:

It must be clear to Secretary Bryan and his friends that he has made a serious error in undertaking to mix business with statecraft. If he likes the lecture platform better than the Cabinet place, he should resign the latter; but so long as he is the premier of the Cabinet he should follow the example set by his illustrious predecessors and devote himself entirely and exclusively to the business in hand.

With suspicious gentleness, the New York "Sun" (Ind. Dem.) likewise urges upon Mr. Bryan the necessity of returning to his vacant desk:

Not every shift is honest thrift. Be he spoiled child of the Democracy or the flower of statesmanlike wisdom, Mr. Bryan holds a post which has been the just ambition and reward of some of the noblest intellects in American politics.

With no ill nature, with the kindliest feeling for this old friend, may we not suggest that Mr. Wilson wants his presence, not his absence; that Mr. Bryan would consult his own dignity better by being Secretary of State, by not withdrawing the benefit of his experience from Mr. Wilson, by living, if necessary, on the meager stipend of $12,000 a year, so common among "the producing classes" of this age?

Not a few editors have been gravely concerned over the possible loss of dignity which the office of Secretary of State might sustain by the actions of the present incumbent. The New York "Evening Post" (Ind.) thus describes the manner in which Secretary Bryan was "billed" for Emporia, Illinois. According to the "Post," his advent was thus heralded:

"Ten Big Days," runs the seven-column advertisement in William Allen White's "Gazette," "Afternoon and Night, Twenty Rich, Royal Sessions. Nearly every session a double programme." "Literary" all this is to be, and "musical, entertaining, instructive, devotional, inspirational, and life-building." Agreeable as this is, we wish for details. And here, right in the first column, they are:

NEW YORK CITY MARINE BAND
AVON SKETCH CLUB
ENGLISH OPERA QUINTET
NEAPOLITAN TROUBADOURS
WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
SEARS, THE TAFFY MAN

Such advertisement as the preceding moves the New York "Tribune" (Rep.) to remark:

The Secretaryship of State is one of the great offices of the land. Since the decline in the prestige of the Speakership it may fairly be said to rank second only to the Presidency in importance and dignity. For the occupant of that office to exhibit himself as a lecturer for hire is to cast every consideration of dignity and decency to the winds and turn the Government of the United States into a traveling side show.

Secretary Bryan cannot retreat from his impossible stand too quickly. If he needs assistance in realizing the soundness of the country-wide protest, that assistance should be rendered by President Wilson without delay.

Such, too, seems to be the general opinion of the foreign press, if we are to judge from the brief cabled reports. The "Pall Mall Gazette," London, says:

The combination of the rôles of Cabinet Minister and professional entertainer is the most bizarre imaginable to British ways of thinking, and we shall be surprised if even American opinion can reconcile itself to the incongruity.

If the matter were left to a majority vote, we believe that the consensus of opinion would favor commending to Mr. Bryan's attention Thomas Jefferson's opinion concerning the duties of a public official. We find it quoted in the New York "World" (Ind. Dem.):

In a virtuous government, and more especially in times like these, public offices are what they should be, burthens to those appointed to them, which it would be wrong to decline, though foreseen to bring with them intense labor and great private loss.

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SUMMER VESPER SERMONS

THE MESSAGE OF THE CHILD

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

During the summer months, in the place of the "Letters to Unknown Friends" there will be published a series of brief Vesper Sermons for the summer cottage, camp, and home. The political orator repeats the same speech a hundred times in a slightly different form. The lawyer argues for the same legal principles in a hundred different briefs. The editor does not expect to influence public opinion by one editorial, but by the same editorial repeated in different phrasing a hundred times. So the carpenter strikes the same nail on the head with repetitive blows, in order to drive it home. The preacher acts on the same principle in preaching old sermons. Whitefield was wont to say that no sermon was ripe until he had preached it fifty times. If any reader of these Vesper Sermons should by any chance have an impression that he has heard something like them before, he will be right. They are partly condensed, partly rewritten, from sermons preached over twenty years ago in Plymouth Pulpit.—L. A.

And Jesus called a little child unto him, and set him in the midst of them, and said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.—Matthew viii., 2 and 3.

I REMEMBER once seeing among the frescoes of the chapel of the blind asylum at Montreal a picture of Christ blessing the little children. There are three figures only that have left themselves on the retina of my eye—one little child, abashed, timid, standing with its face hidden in the lap of Christ; one standing with his arm upon Christ, and looking up in the clear blue eyes that looked down love in his; and one with his hand on Christ's arm and his face turned away, and his hand beckoning to some unseen children in the distance to come on. So our children teach us how to take Christ—abashed in his presence, to bury our face in his lap; joyous in his fellowship, to look up into his face for greater joy; and, finding him, always to turn to others and summon them, that they also may find him whom we have found. Thank God for the teaching our pupil-teachers bring us.

Children, by their innocence, their simplicity, their frankness, their trustfulness, the spontaneity of their lives, teach us something; something also by their faults. For in their faults we can often, if we will, see our own reproduced. They give back to us what we have given them—love for love, service for service, pride for pride, vanity for vanity, selfishness for selfishness.

It is said that Mr. Alcott, in his school at Concord, used to whip himself for the sins of his pupils. I have often thought we fathers would administer truer justice if we would punish ourselves when our children sinned; for the shadows that we see upon our children's hearts are the shadows that we ourselves have cast there. The mother comes from the party to talk about the glory of dress, and then rebukes the little girl for boasting of her new shoes or her new frock. The father at the table commends himself for the shrewd device by which he has made money out of another's loss, and then scolds the elder brother for greed in overreaching the younger one.

We have different names for the same qualities, when we see them in ourselves and in our children. It is a decent regard to appearances in the mother; it is vanity in the child. It is tact in the father; it is lying in the child. It is discretion in the father; it is cowardice in the child. It is self-respect in the father; it is pride in the child. It is firmness in the father; it is obstinacy in the child. If you do not like the pictures that you see on the screen, correct the slide, not the screen; for what you see is that which you yourself have cast upon the little life that God has put into your keeping. If you reprobate or dread the fault in your child, scrutinize your own life, and see whether there be not there a greater sin to be throttled.

Our children do not remain children. They are all subject to the universal law of growth, and we cannot enable them to escape it if we would. Your child will not remain a child. Yesterday you dandled him in your arms as a baby. To-day he looks over the top of your head, or lifts you in his strong arms when you dismount from the wagon. Yesterday in the nursery; to-day in the college; to-morrow out in life battling for himself. And we fathers and mothers are the last to learn that our children are children no longer, but men and women. You cannot repress

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the growth, though you can pervert it. I have seen great forest trees on whose growth some large flat stone had been laid; and they had wormed their way underneath the stone, and had come up on the other side, or had lifted up the stone and carried it bodily in the air. The stone could not forbid life. It could only change its direction or temporarily dwarf it. You may dwarf your boy, but you cannot keep your boy a child. He will grow; and he will grow according to the law of his own nature. The hen may cackle never so loudly, the duckling will take to the water. The merchant cannot make a business man of his artist boy, nor the pious preacher a minister of his business boy.

But perhaps the child has gone up into the silent land, and you sit solitary, possibly sullen, rebellious. Oh, what would you? Would you have a heaven with no children in it? Would you have its streets with no merry laugh? its green grass with no children playing there? Or would you be unwilling that your child should help make up the happiness of that kingdom which would not be happy if there were no young life, no childhood? Remember, every time a little coffin goes to the cemetery a cradle is seen in heaven, a new life enters the portals there. And if to-day sometimes a voice seems calling you to the life beyond the grave, if to-day some strange, unutterable yearning makes your eyes turn thitherward, if to-day your soul reaches out you know not how or why, it is because the arms of your child put around your neck are tugging at your heart-strings, and the voice that whispered to you is whispering to you still. For above the song of all the angel host are the songs, I think, of the children; and there is no prayer that comes so close, so near to the heart of God, as the prayer of tiny Tim: "God bless us every one." May God make us to be better teachers of our children. May God make us to be better pupils of their teaching, whether their voice comes to us from our own nursery, or from far-off States and Territories, or from the far-off land that is not far, but ever close at hand.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP

AN ADDRESS TO THE BOYS OF THE HILL SCHOOL

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Although not one of the most widely known, certainly one of the most interesting, addresses made during this Commencement Season was that given by Mr. Roosevelt to the boys of the Hill School at Pottstown, Pennsylvania, on Monday, June 9. It was given under the auspices of an organization of the boys of the Hill School called "The Civic Club," and was one of a course of lectures in memory of Dr. John Meigs, the son of the founder of the school, and for thirty-five years its head master. By some of our readers, at least, he is regarded as one to be numbered among the great American teachers of the last twenty-five years. We find the address reported in the "Hill School News," and from that excellent contemporary we quote the substance of the address.—THE EDITORS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, and you members of the school, and parents: It is about sixteen years ago that I came to the Hill School to speak, and I have always remembered my visit. I take a peculiar interest in speaking to you, as introduced by the President of the Civic Club, because I feel that every school such as this fails in its duty unless it turns out men who in after life will play a useful part in the world. The first thing I want to say to you here, to the boys of the school, is that the only efficient way in which, in after life, you can show your gratitude to the school is by the kind of reputation you win in the great world. You cannot, save in wholly exceptional cases, individually do much of direct return to the school itself for what the school has done for you. Your return must be in the way of adding to the school's good name, adding to the sum of reputation which will come, and can come only, from the part played by the graduates of the school in the life of the Nation after they have graduated.

The first point that I want to make with you is the dual character of the obligation

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that rests on you when you leave here; that is, that first you have got to be efficient, and next, and equally, you have got to be decent and straight.

The one thing that I wish to see avoided in this connection is a segregation of our people into two camps: the camp of those who know how and can do things but who do them crookedly, and the camp of those who have excellent purposes and no power to achieve them. I am not in the least interested in virtue that is only virtue in the abstract. I want to hold up to you nothing in the way of an ideal that you cannot live up to if you have got in you the right stuff for citizenship. That is why I want to dwell upon the need of your combining the qualities of idealism and efficiency.

First, efficiency. Remember that you cannot do good to anybody else until you can pull your own weight, and no amount of lofty ambition will atone in the least if you have not the practical efficiency that will make you count among your fellows. I don't care in what line of work you make the effort, you cannot be a benefit from the standpoint of those with high aspirations until in addition to the high aspirations you develop the trait that will enable you to put them into effect.

If I were speaking only to the Civic Club, for instance, I should say to you that you would be perfectly worthless in politics if you did not have a lofty purpose, but that you would also be utterly worthless if you did not possess the necessary physical and moral robustness to do more than meet other men like yourselves in politics and say, "How nice it would be to have that lofty purpose realized in our National life!" If you go into politics with an idea that merely because you have, and because you have announced that you have, fine qualities, you are going to have any special consideration shown you, you will be left.

What is true of politics is just as true of business. I do not want you to think even for a moment that I intend to put efficiency as the sole idea before you. I do not. I shall speak of that later. But you must have it. You cannot do any good to anybody as a business man unless you make your business succeed. You cannot take care of those who work for you unless you are such a good business man that there will be something that you have to divide with them. If you do not earn anything you cannot divide it, because it is not there to divide. If you take up newspaper work, unless you can make a newspaper which people will read, then it does not make any difference what you write in it; some one has got to read it, or else the writing does not do any good. I could extend that beyond newspaper men. I could extend it to the pathetic portion of the brotherhood of authors (I am one of them—one of the authors—myself, not one of the pathetic portion) who keep writing to me and explaining that they have written poems or essays or novels of such unexampled excellency of purpose, but that nobody will read them. Then the poor, good people usually ask me to get them read, or tell them how they can get them read. There is not any answer that I can make, except to make them interesting, which, although excellent advice, is a little too large to meet the needs of the case. What is true of the man with the newspaper, and true of the business man, is true of the public servant, is true in every relation of life. You must be efficient, you must be able to hold your own in the world of politics, the world of business, able to keep your own head above water, to make your work satisfactory, to make it pay. If you do not, you cannot do good to others. You must be efficient. You must never forget for a moment that, so far from the doctrine of efficiency being a base theory, it is a vital doctrine, a doctrine vital to good in this country. If the elders as well as the boys would keep that in mind, they would appreciate better what I regard as one of the cardinal political doctrines that should be preached in this country, the doctrine that we should never penalize efficiency; that the line we should draw on business is on conduct and not on size; the line that we should draw, and what we should discriminate against, is misconduct in any phase, and not efficiency. If the efficiency is gauged by misconduct, then strike it, but strike it incidentally, not as efficiency, but as misconduct. If a man in any way owes his business success to swindling, to sharp practices, get at him under the law if you can, get at him by public opinion if you cannot get at him under the law, but do not get at him because he is efficient. Get at him because he has done evil, get at him because he has achieved his efficiency in anti-social, in improper fashion.

So with politics. One of the hardest things to do is to make men understand (this will

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be especially appropriate in speaking to the members of the Civic Club) that efficiency in politics does not atone for public immorality, and that morality, good intentions, decent conduct, all together do not atone for inefficiency. You must have both traits. I am always tempted to illustrate what I mean by referring, simply because it is so easy to understand and so clear, to army experiences. Take my own brief military experience, merely an experience of four months, but it gave me in part an understanding of all the problems that come in connection with soldiery, of the problems that were fronted on a gigantic scale by your fathers in the days of the Civil War. I could gain nothing with any man in the regiment unless he had the right purpose in him. I did not want him unless he had the right purpose in him; but even if he had the right purpose, even if he was boiling with patriotic enthusiasm, he was not of the least use to me if he could not shoot and walk and ride. And I could not accept any amount of patriotic fervor as offsetting a slight tendency to run away.

I am speaking now to a body which has had peculiar advantages in training. I am speaking to boys, young men, who will speedily be out in the world, to whom we shall speedily be able to look for leadership in their respective communities. I have a right to expect that you will remember that your duty is twofold: that you cannot for one moment forget that you are worthless unless you make yourselves count in the world, and also that if you make yourselves count for evil you are not merely worthless, you are worse than worthless. You must, if you want to do your part in the world, remember that you must pull your own weight; that until you have pulled your own weight you cannot help any one else. And then further remember, having pulled your own weight, you must strive to work for the common good.

And you, boys of the Hill School, and the undergraduates of every large school and of every college in this land, know that the supreme test in the effort to get clean athletics comes when you are required to condemn your own side and not the other side. It is perfectly easy to arouse indignation against foul play in the other team, but you never get clean athletics until you get a sentiment which will condemn successful trickery in your own interest. Until you can get that, until you can get a sentiment which will back up the principle of professors when they will not let the man who plays foully play on the team at all, until you can get that, you do not get fair play in athletics, you do not get the right kind of sporting spirit. It is the same thing in public life. Until we get a public opinion so genuine that the man on the side that is benefited will condemn the crooked act of the successful politician, until we can get that tone, we cannot get the right standard of public conduct in this country. You must have efficiency, and you must have high idealism combined with efficiency.

I want to say a word to the two different classes of boys to be found in this as in all similar schools. Some of you boys, I suppose the big majority, in fact (I rather hope the big majority), will, when you leave, have to work for your own livelihood, just as my boys will have to. I do not pity you at all, unless you are afraid of working for your livelihood. In that case I pity you, but with the pity that is akin not to love but to contempt. Then there is in addition the smaller number who do not have to work for their own livelihood. I want to say a word to the latter first. You will sometimes find that people advise the boys of the country of the latter class to go into active business when they become men, just as if their own livelihood depended on it.

There is in this country ample room for non-remunerative work, but there is no room at all for leisure that is not spent in work. I wish it were possible to express as strenuously as I feel it that the man, whatever means he has, who does no work, real work, hard work, is a useless cumberer of the world's surface, is not only a useless citizen (I am not putting it quite strong enough), is not only a useless cumberer of the world's surface, but by his mere existence represents just so much of a detriment to the community as a whole. If one of you here, a graduate of the Hill School—especially if he goes to college afterward and graduates from that college—if one of you with that education, with that training, and with ample means, then becomes not even a noxious but merely a useless member of society, he is discrediting himself and his associates. He is a discredit to his school and to his college, he is a discredit to the people with whom he associates. He is a social menace, because his existence tends to give point to the animosity, the slumbering animosity, which is

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so easy always to awaken, of the "have nots" against the "haves." The man who has, and who makes a bad use or makes no use of what he has, is one of the prime menaces to our social system to-day.

I believe in happiness, I believe in pleasure, I believe in having just as good a time in life as you can have, and I do not believe you will have any good time at all in life unless the good time comes as an incident of the doing of duty—doing some work worth doing. The men I have known whom I respect and admire are, without exception, men who have achieved something worth achieving, by effort, by the acceptance, perhaps, of risk and hardship, by hard work and even by dreary work, who have had their eyes fixed on a goal worth striving for and have striven steadily toward it; and those are the men who have had real happiness in life. I know a considerable number of people, men whom I knew in my youth, whom I know slightly now, who have with more or less intelligent industry devoted themselves to having a good time. They strike me as having had an uncommonly poor time; and the very few of them who have enjoyment have it only because gradually their brains have atrophied so as to enable them to take pleasure out of the infinitely vapid.

In any institution such as this, all of you know that the boy is not really happy if he does not have some school feeling, that you cannot have a school a success at all unless the average boy in it thinks not only of his own individual success, but thinks of the school success. He may think of it in a great many ways. He is pretty sure to think of it in connection with the "eleven" and the "nine," and to develop a very fervid patriotism toward the close of either the baseball or the football season. As he gets more of a sense of responsibility in the upper forms, he grows to think of the standing of the school in all respects, and part of his own pleasure and of his own pride comes not only in his own achievements, but in the sum of the achievements of himself and his fellows in the school. If you do not get that feeling in the school, the school goes down. It is the same thing in the country on a large scale. If, when you get out into actual life, you do not grow to feel, and to feel continually more and more, that in addition to your own success you wish to see community success, you wish to see National success, if you are not influenced by these emotions taken in the aggregate, you lose a large part of your power for usefulness, you lose a large part of your power of achieving not merely success, but happiness.

In short, to-day, under the auspices of the Civic Club, I preach to you the doctrine of realizable idealism. I preach to you the doctrine that in after life, whether you go into politics as a career, or whether, as every good citizen should, you go into politics as a decent citizen, whether you are making a career of it or not, or into business or literature or art or any of the professions, that wherever you work you must set before yourselves high ideals, and you must set them before you in realizable fashion. You will amount to nothing unless you have the ideals, and you will amount to nothing unless in good faith you strive to realize them.

THE SKYFARER

BY PRISCILLA LEONARD

Deep in each heart, the child that used to be
Still dwells, an alien from maturity:
In saint, in warrior, in clown, in sage,
Beneath the wrinkles and the cares of age,
Beneath the growing weight of toils and fears,
Beneath the weary wisdom of the years,
Withdrawn, apart, the child-soul still abides;
Time's finger cannot touch it, for it hides
A wonder and a life-breath that shall last
Till all earth's dust-choked days are overpast;
Then, as all else fades from the dying sight,
As power, gains, knowledge, sink away in night,
The child steps forth—lo, the eternal dawn
And the new life that beckons on and on!

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AMERICA AND JAPAN

The importance of a cordial and just understanding between the peoples of Japan and America cannot be exaggerated. As an aid toward reaching this end The Outlook this week, in addition to Mr. Mabie's article which follows, publishes with pleasure short contributions from Dr. Francis G. Peabody, the distinguished clergyman and writer on social and theological topics, and from Dr. J. Ingram Bryan, long a resident of Tokyo, Japan, who is thoroughly well informed on the feeling there. An editorial elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook discusses some of the underlying principles involved in the relations of the two peoples.—THE EDITORS.

I—AMERICANS AND THE FAR EAST

BY HAMILTON W. MABIE

AMERICANS, as a whole, know very little about foreign affairs and care less; the struggles of peoples for a larger share of political power interests them because their own career as a nation began with such a struggle, and because they are sympathetic with the democratic movement everywhere. Since the Philippines fell into their hands they have learned where Manila is; and they have come to have a realizing sense, to recall an old theological phrase, that there is a Far East. War shares one advantage with travel; it teaches geography. The gallant fight of little Japan with big Russia carried American sympathy with it; the precision and skill with which that war was conducted by the Japanese received quick appreciation from this country; while the splendid patriotism of the Japanese and their dauntless courage evoked unstinted admiration. The revolution in China was so unexpected on this side of the Pacific and so dramatic that it instantly arrested attention, and the recognition of the Chinese Republic undoubtedly had behind it the hearty good will of the American people. That striking event, like the rise of Japan, and, for that matter, like every other event of great significance, was sudden only to those who did not know the influences that brought it about; influences that had long been at work in the venerable country which has rendered so many services to civilization. When the Dragon Throne fell, with so little disorder and bloodshed that it seemed to have collapsed of its own weight, Americans did not recognize the very considerable part they had played in making ready for the drama which is much the most impressive now being presented on the stage of the world.

Nor did the majority of Americans understand the part played by American influence in the revolution in Turkey, and, consequently, in the series of events set in motion when the Young Turks dethroned the Sultan. Many of them had heard of Robert College, but they had only a very vague idea of the effect of American educational agencies of various kinds in awakening civic spirit in Turkey and liberating an energy so long suppressed that it seemed to have been destroyed.

In the Near as in the Far East Americans have incurred responsibilities from which their ignorance will not relieve them. It was their hand which opened the closed doors of Japan and forced upon that country changes more radical than any other country has ever passed through in less than sixty years. Those changes, as Count Okuma recently pointed out in the pages of The Outlook, have left no side of life in Japan untouched. The situation may be summed up in a sentence: The entire development of modern Japan has been imposed on her from without. She has been involved in a chain of events from which she could not have escaped if she had tried, and she has faced them with a courage, an intelligence, and a power of devotion to the nation which must fill all fair-minded men who know her history with confidence in her ability to overcome the difficulties which still confront her, and to work out her destiny along the lines long ago defined by her history, temperament, and genius.

The sooner the world recognizes the fact that there is a New East, the greater will be the chances of race progress in the twentieth century; the sooner Americans recognize the share they have had in creating the conditions and problems of the New East, the

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sooner will they face the responsibilities they have assumed and the more intelligently will they choose the part they are to play in the world in the new age of international relationship which has begun. Are they to discard their traditions, violate their principles, and abdicate the chance of leadership in the affairs of humanity, or are they to fulfill the prophecies of a large-minded, far-seeing statesmanship which their relations with Japan and China have so far uniformly made? California has unexpectedly raised an issue of the first importance, and those who imagine that the crisis has passed and that the clouds between the two countries will dissolve in thin air do not know the persistence of the people with whom they are dealing. A Russian military writer has said of the Japanese that they seem to have mastered all kinds of tactics except those of retreat. They feel that they have been seriously affronted and unfairly treated, and any attempt to ignore their protests and trust to time to heal the breach in the long-established friendly relations between the countries will disastrously fail. It has been well said that this question is two per cent a State matter and ninety-eight per cent a National matter. The members of the California Legislature who voted for the anti-Japanese land bill acted as if they were dealing with a few thousand immigrants; they seemed to be ignorant of the fact that they were dealing with a sensitive and powerful nation. Ignoring that nation and omitting the courtesies with which civilized countries approach questions of such difficulty and delicacy, they struck at the Japanese immigrants and went home, leaving the United States to deal with the Japanese Government.

The American people are very much engrossed for the moment with home affairs of pressing importance; Japan is nine thousand miles from Washington; most Americans are very ignorant of the character, ability, and spirit of the Japanese people; and the news sent from one country to the other seems to be edited for the purpose of irritating the two peoples. Under these conditions it is not surprising that Americans have not yet awakened to the fact that they are face to face with an international question of far-reaching importance: the question of the future policy of this country in the New East.

If it shall appear that the short-sighted and rough-handed way of dealing with a friendly nation brings home to the United States its responsibilities to, and the political and commercial possibilities of, the rising East, good will come out of evil; for a sharp crisis is less dangerous than drifting without foresight into grave complexities, and missing through ignorance those opportunities of contributing to the welfare of the race which constitute the greatest good fortune of a nation. Many things could be said about the anti-Japanese legislation in California, but only two things need to be said for the purpose of getting the situation clearly before the country. There was no immediate occasion for such legislation; neither in population nor in holdings of land was there a menacing situation. There was not the slightest danger of a "wave of Asiatic immigration;" it was impossible under existing arrangements between the two Governments.

A writer in The Outlook, whose statement of the case from the anti-Japanese standpoint was in effect a recognition that one of the most serious objections to the Japanese is their ability, declared that California cared nothing for the land bills, and that they could have been killed as anti-Japanese measures were killed two years ago if the "Tokyo jingoes" had not blown the "war trumpet;" and that the abrupt change in California's attitude was but the reflection of "Japan's mailed fist;" and a writer in "The World's Work" says, "At this very moment, while this is being written, twenty thousand people are surging through the streets of Tokyo clamoring for war with America." It is a curious fact that Americans in Tokyo, at the time these stirring words were written, saw no mobs and heard no clamor. As a matter of fact, the mobs and the clamor were imaginary. There are yellow politicians in Japan as there are in this country, and there were meetings at which speeches were made denouncing the Japanese Government for not taking a firmer attitude on the question; for it is an old device of the opposition to attack the government for not adopting a "vigorous policy" when an international difference arises. There was no outbreak of popular feeling against the United States. There has been a very warm feeling of friendship for the United States among the Japanese; a feeling of confidence and friendship which has been and may continue to be, if wise counsels prevail, a very valuable asset in the Far East; and the feeling in Japan was rather one of astonishment and pain than of anger. The managing editor of the "World,"

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writing on this subject in the "North American Review," says:

It may be said plainly that if there is ever trouble between the United States and Japan, it will begin here. There is something painful about the childlike faith and grateful good will manifested toward the American visitor by the people of Japan, in perpetual acknowledgment of their debt to the United States. This is no shallow sentiment, but a deep feeling bred of the belief that but for Commodore Perry and Townsend Harris, that country would have dwelt in mediæval helplessness until too late.

The Japanese felt, and they had ample justification for the feeling, that the proposed legislation was unfair in its attack on values acquired by Japanese workers in California, and they resented the discrimination against them as Japanese; precisely as we should have done if Germany, for instance, had proposed such legislation dealing with American holdings.

Nor was there any "Japanese mailed fist;" on the contrary, the Japanese Government has treated the situation with notable reserve and studied courtesy from the beginning. It has done everything in its power to avoid giving occasion for anti-Japanese agitation in this country.

It has also been urged as a justification for driving the anti-Japanese bill through the Legislature at Sacramento that "the press of the country raked the Sacramento statesmen fore and aft with grape-shot," whereupon California shook off its lethargy and demanded the passage of the bill. The press of the country did precisely what it ought to do when a State attempts to deal with a question "ninety-eight per cent" of which is National. Having passed the bill, the Sacramento statesmen went to their homes and left the National Government to deal with an international situation which it had not created. A question that is "ninety-eight per cent" National ought to be dealt with by the Nation; this matter was pre-eminently matter for arrangement by diplomacy, not for rough and ready action by a State Legislature influenced by local politics.

If this legislation were a thing of the past, unfortunate in manner and form but an accomplished fact, it would be a waste of time to recall the peculiar circumstances which surrounded it; but it is not an end, it is a beginning. It ought, therefore, to be clearly understood that there was no occasion for it in present conditions; that there is no "Asiatic invasion" of any part of America, nor is there any possibility of such an invasion; that there were no "surging mobs in the streets of Tokyo clamoring for war;" that there was no "mailed fist" raised by the Japanese Government, but that, on the contrary, that Government has made every effort to keep the country quiet and has succeeded, and has treated the questions at issue with restraint and calmness; that in protesting against the legislation the country at large was not interfering with local affairs in a State, but urging a State not to interfere with National affairs. Precisely what was foreseen by clear-minded people has happened: an international problem of the first importance has been presented, and must be settled on principles of justice and fair play and with the same consideration for the feelings of other nations which we demand for ourselves from other nations.

Japan has a civilization different from ours: in some respects inferior, in other respects distinctly superior, to ours. Japan is much more thoroughly organized than the United States; indeed, no Western country except Germany can be compared with Japan in military efficiency and in general educational training: Japan must be treated on a basis of equality.

This does not mean the unimpeded flowing together of great populations, with different standards of life and living under radically different economic conditions; it does mean that the United States shall demand nothing of the Far East which it is not ready to give to the Far East, that restriction of immigration and all kindred questions shall be settled by friendly diplomacy between the Governments, and that the Far East shall be treated as a co-partner in the affairs of humanity. In a sentence: The equality which is often professed in word and often denied in act must be made the basal principle in all international relations. Race differences must be clearly and frankly recognized; economic differences must be candidly faced; but race hatred must be driven beyond the pale of civilization; it is a survival of barbarism and it must go back where it belongs.

The Japanese have never been servile; that is the secret of the dislike for them felt by Western peoples, accustomed to treat the Oriental as if he were outside the protection of law. "You cannot knock a Japanese down in Japan without danger of going to jail," summed up, for one European,

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the chief offense of a nation which holds itself quite on a par with other nations in those things which are essential to civilization. If some Japanese have an exalted idea of their national achievements, they are sharing the feeling which Americans, Germans, Englishmen, and others entertain with regard to their respective countries. The sense of superiority has reached a high state of development in most countries. Much has been said about non-assimilability; and it has been declared many times that the issue of superiority or inferiority is not raised; but the fact remains that in dealing with Japanese subjects Japan was ignored.

There is a New East rapidly rising in political and commercial power; we have had a great share in opening the way for it, in giving its development impetus and direction. We have invaded it with our ideas, methods, capital. Our merchants are in all its ports, our lawyers, surgeons, physicians, dentists, are in its leading cities; we have welcomed its students in our colleges and sent our teachers by the score to its schools, colleges, universities; our missionaries are everywhere preaching the religions we profess, and teaching the ethics we call ours. We have forced open the gates of the Far East, and every year we are multiplying the means of relationship with it. Mr. Marconi has spoken across the Atlantic and will soon speak across the Pacific. The ends of the earth have become stations on the unbroken circle of communication which runs around the globe; and we are only at the beginning of international intercourse. A German writer has recently said that in his opinion the finest elements for future citizenship are in China. Japan is well on her way towards the command of her resources; and now that science is intensifying the efficiency of men in dealing with soil and with industry, who will venture to fix the limits of her growth? In the Far East, too, lie the great fortunes of the future—the prosperity which ought to enrich the Pacific coast and will enrich it unless it closes its imagination to a wealth of opportunity which twenty-five years will turn into tangible riches.

In the light of these facts, what shall be American policy in the Far East? So far it has been friendly; if not masterly, it has not followed slavishly the lines of European policy, which has been determined largely by commercial interests. But it ought to do more; it ought actively to aid a development for which it is largely responsible; it ought to unite to the sound sense that will deal practically with questions of present intercourse the imagination that will foresee and lead the way in the new age which has begun. "The Mediterranean era declined with the Roman Empire and died with the discovery of America," writes Mr. Roosevelt. "The Atlantic era is now at the height of its development, and must soon exhaust the resources at its command. The Pacific era, destined to be the greatest of all and to bring the whole human race at last into one comity of nations, is just at the dawn."

II—THE SITUATION IN JAPAN

BY J. INGRAM BRYAN

ALL agitation over the anti-alien legislation in California has quieted down, and Japan is now passing through a period of suspense contemplating whether or not America as a whole will indorse the California attitude and approve of discrimination against the Japanese in favor of Europeans. The negotiations going on at Washington are being watched by the Japanese public with a careful eye; but, on the whole, it can hardly be said that the leaders of public opinion in Japan have any very great hope in diplomacy as a means of settling the difficulty. There is a growing disposition to feel that in a matter of hospitality, such as this is, diplomacy can effect little without the favor of public opinion; and consequently a number of leading Japanese, like Baron Shibusawa and others, have banded together and sent representatives to America to investigate the real grounds of grievance against the Japanese in California, and to help smooth the way toward winning public opinion in the United States. The Japanese at home are not angry, but they are somewhat surprised at the apparent helplessness of the Washington Government to interfere with the process of anti-Japanese legislation in a State of the Union, and they are extremely solicitous of maintaining friendship with America unimpaired. The difficulty is not so much the denial of rights of landownership as the dis-

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crimination which in their opinion violates the spirit of the most-favored-nation clause in all their treaties with foreign countries, a discrimination which obliges Japan to accept a position or status inferior to that accorded other nations by America. The situation is rendered more serious by the impossibility of expecting Japan to accept any scheme of compromise to save "face," as she did in the case of the San Francisco school question. The Tokyo Foreign Office has never been forgiven by the public for accepting this humiliation; and it is strongly felt now that all such deferences to race prejudice never permanently adjust the difficulty, but only put off the evil day. Japan has now reached a position in the family of nations where she feels that she must take a firm stand for equal treatment or soon be relegated again to the place of a second-class power. She is the only independent representative of the Asiatic races, and if she fails their hopes are doomed. Most of the Japanese, therefore, see either one of two ways toward a solution of the question at issue. America should either accord Japanese citizens the right of land-ownership in California, at least to the extent that such rights are enjoyed by Americans in Japan, or else the Japanese should be conceded the privilege of naturalization so as to be on a level with Europeans. In either of these ways the difficulty would be removed, as there would be then no discrimination; but if neither concession can be granted, then Japan will be placed in a most awkward position both as regards her own people and the world at large. There is no disposition in Japan to "show the mailed fist," as some have suggested; nor has there been anything so foolish and uncalled for as war talk. Not even the most rabid of the yellow journals has ever gone so far as this. While there seems everywhere an earnest resolve to insist upon equal treatment for Japanese subjects in America, there appears to be no wish to do so at the expense of friendship and peace, but to bring the case prominently before the American public and the world at large, and then trust to the American spirit of justice and fair play to accord Japan the rights conceded other nationals in the United States. It is the general impression in Japan that if this is not done now, Canada, Australia, and other lands will be encouraged to attempt further humiliation of Japan, and thus she will have her status menaced and her prospects of finding a field for immigration more seriously threatened than ever. If discrimination against her subjects abroad is in any case to be but temporary, it might as well cease at once; in fact, the sooner the better; and to no nation can Japan look with more hope of justice in this respect than to a people that have already proved their devotion to humanity by giving their blood for a colored race. So Japan is urging her diplomatic officials to remove the stigma if possible; but she depends more upon American justice than upon international diplomacy.

Tokyo, Japan.

III—CALIFORNIA AND JAPAN

BY FRANCIS G. PEABODY

I HAPPENED, just before leaving Japan, to find in a book-store at Yokohama a copy of The Outlook of May 10, and my attention was attracted to an article entitled "White and Yellow in California," of which the editor says, "We have not seen a better analysis of the antagonism at the root of the present race conflict in California." I have been in Japan for two months in somewhat intimate relation with leaders of public opinion, and with daily opportunity to observe the condition of the public mind, and the article you have published seems to me at one point so misleading and at another point so injudicious as to require some comment.

The writer, with entire justice, begins by indicating that no racial issue of importance really exists. "Of the total population the Japanese form two and a half per cent, and their aggregate land holdings in fee and by lease constitute twelve hundredths of one per cent." In other words, there is, for the present at least, no Japanese problem. The insignificant number of settlers in California has, in fact, decreased within the last two years. Two friendly nations have become involved in a serious collision for a grievance which is fictitious and an issue which has not arrived.

Your contributor then proceeds to make two surprising affirmations. The first is that the issue has been provoked, "not by Cali-

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fornia legislators, but by Tokyo jingoes." California, he says, "did not care." "Perhaps no other State was more astonished than California . . . when the Japanese Government brought pressure to bear upon Washington." "The abrupt change in California's attitude was but the reflection of the Japanese mailed fist." This chronology of events has no correspondence, so far as I know, with facts as seen in Japan. No jingo agitation occurred in Tokyo, to my knowledge, until it became evident that the California Legislature and Governor, in defiance of advice from Washington, were determined to discriminate against Japan. The war talk was even then limited to a few irresponsible and self-interested demagogues, who had no influence with the Japanese Government and were never taken seriously by responsible people. To speak of the Japanese as provoking the issue, and the Californians as suddenly roused to resentment by Japanese combativeness, seems to me a complete inversion of the facts. Indeed, the most marked feature of public opinion in Japan has been the forbearance with which it has been assumed that the United States would in the end reach a just conclusion.

The same writer goes on to inquire what is the fundamental reason for the "deep feeling" in California against the Japanese, and he finds it, curiously enough, in the recognition of their excellence. "Before the Japanese came, every immigrant . . . tacitly acknowledged the superiority of the native born." "Public opinion inexorably forced him to the bottom of the ladder." "But this subtle process of seif-degradation . . . never takes place in the Japanese soul." "The Californians are the Southerners of the West." "Like their Mississippi brethren, they consider a white skin as an admission ticket to the front seats in the show, the gallery being reserved for those of other hues." "But the Japanese was not submissive, obedient, pliant, and yielding." "The Japanese asserted by their bearing that they were at least as good as any white man. What was worse, they proved their assertion." "Thousands of well-bred, well-educated Japanese, who sought their future on the Pacific Coast, showed beyond doubt that they were the white man's match in any line of endeavor."

This candid confession of motives is the most serious indictment of the California legislation which I have happened to read. What California wants in its immigrants, it would appear, is servility, inferiority, and submission. The Japanese are excluded because they "fail to pay homage at the shrine of American nativity." "In his scanty baggage the immigrant brings from Nippon an abiding belief in the greatness of his nation . . . as deeply rooted as the American pride of race." One would suppose that these qualities of racial pride, good manners, and clean customs would find themselves at home in the commercial democracy of the United States; but the Californian, we are told, is exasperated by "the proud, erect bearing, the immaculate clothes, and the exquisite manners of the successful, well-bred Japanese." In other words, the ruling faction in California proposes to control citizenship as it now controls the labor market, and to regard immigrants as Mississippi regards Negroes. It is of distinct advantage to the country at large to have this view so frankly expressed, but what is likely to be its effect in California? "Immigrants," President Mitchell, of the University of South Carolina, said in Boston last winter, "are as rare in my State as Puritans are in Massachusetts." The attitude of the South to the Negro practically prohibits the immigration of free men. The same result would seem probable if the Mississippi view of citizenship were applied in California. Self-respecting immigrants would be likely to shun a State where none but serfs were wanted. If, on the other hand, the extraordinary attractiveness of California should overbalance its deterrent policy, then it seems likely that she would get the kind of immigration desired. I heard a Californian last February in a public address describe the gains which were to be made by California through the opening of the Panama Canal. The future of the State, he said, depended on a great influx of population, and the German lines proposed to "lay down" immigrants from the Mediterranean at a cost of $5 above the rate to New York. New England has already had its lesson of financial loss and social disorder as the consequence of importing this kind of labor from the eastern Mediterranean. But New England may perhaps urge in self-defense that she could find no other source of supply. California, it would seem from this article, deliberately proposes a policy of welcome for inefficiency, ignorance, and anarchy, and of exclusion for the intelligence, orderliness, and skill which stand waiting at her doors.

S. S. Chiyo Maru, June 22, 1913.

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TURKISH STORY-TELLING

BY HESTER D. JENKINS

A POPULAR form of entertainment in Turkey is story-telling. Among a simple and often illiterate people the relating of stories answers the purpose of novel, magazine, and newspaper to us. Not only are children told stories, but groups of women and also of men will listen eagerly to new or old tales. Among the educated Turks reading has largely replaced story-telling, but in the villages and the country and also among the simple people of the cities the professional story-teller still holds court. Wandering one day over the market of Tangier with a small Arab boy as guide, I came upon a triple circle of boys and men squatting comfortably and listening to an Arab story-teller seated in the center of the circle. He was a picturesque figure—brown, lean, with piercing eyes, flowing garments, and towering turban. He was talking fluently and gesticulating gracefully. I could not understand his language, and his gestures gave no clue, for they were not the descriptive gestures of Italy, but the ornamental wavings of the Orient. He held a staff in his hand, and when he finished his tale he lifted it high, then tossed it on the ground. A murmur of appreciation arose from his listeners, and a little boy passed his fez for pennies.

In modest Turkish houses in villages the household will gather around the fire evenings to gossip and tell stories. But the fire is not roaring logs in a fireplace, it is a bed of charcoal in a brazier, from whose rim a quilt extends in all directions. The men or women, as it may be—never both together—sit cross-legged on the floor, pulling the quilt over their limbs, thus conserving all the warmth from the brazier. This is a fine place to tell stories.

The stories told in home or coffee-house generally fall into three broad classes: fairy stories, anecdotes, and stories with a political turn. The fairy stories differ from ours in possessing a monstrous quality that to our notion suggests ugliness; as, for instance, when the golden-haired princess wept till her eyes were red as blood, and when the afrit had a mouth so large that one lip hung to earth and the other touched the heavens. The plots, too, differ considerably from Teutonic or Romance plots. The stories are much less plausible than Western tales, so that we wonder if they ever seem real even to the Turkish children. The way of beginning a Turkish fairy tale is as fantastic as the rest of the story. The simplest formula runs, "Once upon a time, once upon a day, there was something, there was nothing, there was a great padisha." A padisha is a king or sultan, and the Oriental children, as well as our own, like to hear about kings. There are far more elaborate preludes, such as the following:

"In the olden days when there were sieves in straws and lies in everything, in the olden times when there was abundance, and men ate and drank the whole day and yet lay down hungry, there was a padisha."

Another runs: "Once upon a time in the old, old days, when straws were sieves and the camel was a peddler and the mouse a barber and the cuckoo a tailor and the donkey ran errands and the tortoise baked bread, and I was only fifteen years old but my father rocked my cradle, and there was a miller in the land who had a black cat, there was," etc. This last is not unlike the formula we used to hear as children, "Once upon a time when pigs were swine and turkeys chewed tobacco." Another fantastic beginning is the following: "Once upon a time in the old, old days, when the camel was only a spy, when toads rose in the air on wings, and I myself rode in the air while I walked on the ground, and went up hill and down dale at the same time, there was a padisha," etc.

A typical Turkish fairy tale is called "The Golden-Haired Children." It is long, and pleasantly told, but I can give only the outline of it here. It begins with three poor sisters who wish to marry the padisha's cook, his chamberlain, and himself respectively, and soon did so. The youngest, who married the padisha, gave birth to two beautiful children, both golden-haired, the one with a golden crescent on his forehead and the other with a golden star on her brow. The envious sisters stole the children and substituted a puppy, so the enraged monarch had the little queen stoned to death. The twins were exposed in a forest, suckled by a wolf, saved by a woodman, and brought up in a cottage. Their wicked aunts, afraid lest the padisha should find them, suggested fearful adventures to the boy, who, to please his

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sister, went to far countries in search, first, of the peri's mirror, then of the peri's golden branch, and lastly of the queen of the peris herself. The dauntless youth, guided by the Mother of Devils whom he won with a kiss, passed through all sorts of dangers, finally winning the peri for his bride, and she brought the padisha to them, who recognized them for his children, and, to complete her beneficence, she restored to life the little queen mother.

The Turkish anecdotes are very short, and most of them cluster about a worthy who is said to have lived in the fourteenth century and whose tombstone is pointed out in Konia. He was a teacher or *hodja*, called Nasr Eddin Hodja. He seems to have had two distinct personalities, judging from the stories; for one set make him appear shrewd, crafty, and even wise; and the other set stupid and foolish. Let look first at some of the stupid stories.

One day Nasr Eddin Hodja said to his wife, "To-morrow, if it is pleasant, I shall work in the garden; but if it is unpleasant, I shall work in the house." His wife added, piously, "Inshallah!" that is, "If God wills." He replied, obstinately, "No, Allah has nothing to do with it. It must be either pleasant or unpleasant. If it is pleasant, I will work in the garden; and if it is unpleasant, I will work in the house." His wife shook her head at this impiety, but said nothing more. That night a party of soldiers came and took Nasr Eddin Hodja away to work for them. It was a pleasant day, but he did not work in the garden. When he got through his work he went sadly home, and, his wife being abed, he knocked at the door. "Who's there?" she cried. "It's your husband, Inshallah," replied a meek voice. "No, my husband never says Inshallah," she replied, and, turning on her ear, went to sleep.

Another time Nasr Eddin Hodja cried to his wife, "Wife, wife, come here! the moon has fallen into the well." She rushed to the well and looked down, and, sure enough, the moon was floating on the water. "We must get it out," said the hodja; "bring me a rope and hook." So she brought them, and they let them into the well. The hook caught on a stone, and Nasr Eddin and his wife pulled and pulled. Suddenly the stone gave way and the two fell flat on their backs. As they lay there, the hodja cried, "See, wife, we have put it back again," and, sure enough, there was the moon once more in the sky!

All Ottomans, whether Turk, Armenian, or Macedonian, tell these stories with infinite relish and never seem to tire of them. Here is another popular one:

One day Nasr Eddin Hodja was sitting on a branch of a tree sawing off the limb. A passer-by called to him, "Look out! you'll fall." The hodja paid no attention, but went on sawing, and, when the limb fell, he fell with it. Jumping up, he ran after the man and said, "Please tell me when I shall die." The man replied, "Do I know?" Nasr Eddin said, "But you prophesied that I would fall; now prophesy when I shall die."

Of these anecdotes of the stupid hodja, the following has a delicious Irish flavor:

One night Nasr Eddin Hodja thought he saw a burglar in his room and shot at him. In the morning he found that he had sent an arrow through his own shirt, which hung in the window. Falling on his knees, he prayed fervently, "I thank thee, Allah, that I was not in that shirt."

Now let us look at the clever and crafty hodja. Once he borrowed a kettle of a neighbor, and, when he returned it, a little kettle dropped from inside the larger one. "See," he said, "the mother kettle has brought forth a baby kettle." The neighbor seemed much pleased and kept the two. Later Nasr Eddin borrowed a large kettle again, and did not return it at all. When the neighbor angrily demanded it, he replied, solemnly, "It is dead." "How?" cried the neighbor; "who ever heard of a kettle's dying?" "Why not?" said the hodja; "if it can have a little kettle, why can't it die?"

Another time he stole a donkey from a neighbor. When the owner came to demand it, he denied having it. Just at that moment the donkey brayed. "There," said the owner, triumphantly, "I hear it." "What!" said Nasr Eddin, "would you take the word of a donkey against that of an honest man like me?"

Nasr Eddin Hodja seems to have understood human nature. One day he went to a wedding. He was not invited, but any man may go to any other man's wedding feast and eat of the pilaff. He was old and shabby, and no one took notice of him, so he got no pilaff. Then he went out and borrowed a fine caftan with flowing sleeves, and returned to the marriage feast. This time the servants bowed before him, and said, "Come up, master," and put heaping dishes of pilaff before him. He held his flowing sleeves over the pilaff, and said, "Eat, my sleeves;

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for it is you who are honored, not I." This set of anecdotes might be concluded with two, about sermons that Nasr Eddin preached. The first was as follows:

Once Nasr Eddin Hodja was invited to preach in the mosque. He did not wish to do so, so when he mounted the stairs and stood before the people he said, "Do you know what I am going to say?" The congregation replied, "No." Then he said, "What is the use of telling you?" and he sat down. The people murmured at this, and the hodja was appointed to preach the following Friday. This time the mosque was crowded. When Nasr Eddin had ascended the pulpit, he looked about him very slowly and then said, "Do you know what I am going to say?" The people this time made answer, "Yes." "Then," said he, "there is no need of telling you," and he came down. Then the people murmured loudly, and the hodja was told he must surely preach the following Friday. This time they were prepared for him, and when he leaned over the pulpit and asked, slowly, "Do you know what I am going to say?" half of them cried, "No," and the other half said, "Yes." Then he said, "Let those who know tell those who do not know," and he came down.

The other story concerns a sermon he did preach. Afterwards a man said, rudely, "Why did you go up so high to preach so ordinary a sermon?" He replied, sagely, "I stood as high as my knowledge; had I stood as high as my ignorance, I would have touched the sky."

Local traditions are common in Turkey, Constantinople possessing many. There is the story of Joshua, who was a giant in the habit of sitting on Giant's Mountain, with one foot in the Black Sea and one in the Marmora. The Maiden's Tower, a light-house just at the entrance of the Bosphorus, possesses a tale not unlike that of the sleeping beauty—a lovely princess doomed to die by the bite of a serpent, a castle built for her in the water to preserve her from serpents, and a prince who sent her a bouquet of flowers containing by accident the fatal viper. It has two endings: one, the death of the princess, probably the original story; the other, her salvation by the prince, who sucked the wound in his despair and love. There are flocks of birds which fly over the Bosphorus and are said never to alight. These are called "lost souls." They are also called Solomon's letter-carriers, and are said to be still flying in search of a love-letter of the wise monarch which they had lost. A huge bone on one of the walls of Seraglio Point is said to be the God of the Fishes, who attracts many fish to the Golden Horn; but he seems to be a poor divinity after all, for the fishes fill the waiting nets.

There is one famous set of stories in Turkish that is arranged something on the plan of the Arabian Nights. "It is called "The Forty Vizirs." The general plot is the following: An Oriental monarch had a beautiful but deceitful wife. She made love to his son, and when he repulsed her she called for the monarch and told him that his son had tried to win her. The angry sultan wished to slay his son at once. The son sought counsel of an old man, who bade him keep silent for forty days. But one of the vizirs begged the king not to slay his son, who was probably innocent, and told him a story of faithless wives. This made the monarch doubt, and he deferred his son's execution. But at night his wife told him a story of wicked sons, and he angrily ordered the execution of his heir. There were forty vizirs, and each in turn told a story of wicked women, thus delaying for forty days the execution of the son, although each night the wife told a story of faithless sons. At the expiration of forty days the son told his own tale, and the wicked wife was executed in his place. Thus eighty tales are woven into this setting, but, being all on two themes, they are rather dull. A story that might have been told by the forty vizirs, but was not, is as follows:

One day a Turkish lady was seated by her window peering down the street from her lattice, when a youth passed by reading a manuscript. The lady saw that he was comely, and called to him, "Come in, O youth, for my husband is away, and we can eat and be merry." The youth put the manuscript in his bosom and entered the house. As they sat down to the repast she asked him, "What book wast thou reading just now?" He replied, "It is called The Wiles of Women." While they were eating and making merry the husband was heard returning. The lady pushed the youth into a closet and locked the door. When the husband entered he cried, "What do I see; with whom have you been eating?" and she said, "Oh, my husband, thou wast away, and I was lonely, and a youth passed who was comely, and I invited him to come in and eat with me and be

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merry." He cried in wrath, "Wretched woman, what have you done? where is he?" "In the closet," she faltered. "Where is the key—give it to me!" thundered the infuriated husband. She handed him the key, and as he took it she burst into a merry laugh and cried, "Philopena!" The husband looked dazed; then he, too, began to laugh. "My own clever little wife; now I must hasten to the bazaars and get her a present," he cried, and rushed from the house. The lady went to the closet, unlocked the door, and drew out the trembling youth. He left the house, and as he passed beneath her lattice she whispered softly, "Write this in thy book which is called The Wiles of Women."

One of the occasions when stories are told to Turkish women is at the *Iftar*, an evening meal during the month Ramazan, which is the period of Moslem fasting. During that month none of the faithful may eat or drink or smoke or smell perfumes, from that hour in the morning when a black hair may first be distinguished from a white one, to the setting of the sun. As soon as the sun sets the fast is over, and the night may be spent in feasting and jollity. The meal that is eaten just at sunset is called the *Iftar*, and is often an elaborate and social affair.

After the meal is eaten the women settle down to a social evening with cigarettes and coffee. The men go out first to a service in the mosque, then to see the famous Ramazan puppet show, or to attend the dance halls or little theaters, or walk up and down the street in Constantinople, which is the Midway Plaisance of Ramazan, lighted, and full of restaurants, coffee-houses, and shows. But the women sit on the floor or on cushions, groups of them together, their latticed windows keeping out the sights of the street, and tell each other stories. They always tell Nasr Eddin Hodja stories, with which they are unceasingly delighted. The hodja's wife played an important part in his life. Just before he married her a neighbor found him turning around all the tiles in his floor. When asked why he was doing that, he replied that he had always heard that a wife turned the house upside down, and he was getting his house ready so that, when she upset it, it would come right again.

Let us bid farewell to the Turkish sage with one last story.

Nasr Eddin Hodja had a way of saying, whatever occurred, "It might be worse." This greatly annoyed Satan, who came and thrust the hodja into a bag and carried him off. But Satan's annoyance was aggravated by hearing the hodja's voice from within the bag murmuring, "It might be worse, it might be worse." At length Satan put down the bag and cried, "If you can tell me how it might be worse, I'll let you out." "I was thinking," replied the sage, "that it would be worse if you were in the bag and I had to carry you in this hot place."

Another anecdote that is told in the harems is of the man who bought an oke of meat (about three pounds) and gave it to his wife to keep for him. The woman, being greedy, ate the meat herself, and, when her husband asked her for it, said that the cat had eaten it. He sent for the cat and weighed it, and it weighed just an oke. "If this is the cat," said he, "where is the oke? If this is the oke, where is the cat?"

It is in the coffee-houses and among the men that the political stories are generally told. Under the rule of Abdul Hamid any stories with a political suggestion had to be told very carefully, for the ever-present spy might get the too free story-teller into prison. One story that might be told safely, even among spies, is the following: One day a sultan who wished to go hunting asked his astrologer if the weather would be good. The astrologer replied that it would be fine, so the royal party started out. On the way they met an old man on a donkey, who said, "Sire, you will be caught in the rain." But the sultan, trusting in his astrologer, went on; and, when a heavy rain fell, he and his courtiers were drenched. When he returned to the palace he ordered the unfortunate astrologer to be decapitated, and, sending for the old man who had prophesied aright, he offered him the post of royal astrologer. The old man, shrinking from this dangerous eminence, replied that he knew nothing about the weather—it was his donkey. "When the weather will be bad," he said, "my donkey pricks up his ears." So the sultan made the donkey his astrologer, and this worked finely, the only trouble being that, after that, every other donkey in the kingdom wanted a position.

Sultan Abdul Hamid was greatly under the influence of his palace clique, and the loyal Ottomans were disposed to lay blame on the shoulders of his advisers rather than on the sacred person of their padisha. The next story illustrates that feeling.

Once a camel-driver lay dying, and the

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death rattle would not stop and leave him in peace. Every one knows that the death rattle continues as long as there is any one who does not forgive the dying person. So his friends looked about for some one who had a grudge against the dying man. His wife and his children were brought to his bedside and freely forgave him everything. His creditors came and everything was settled for them, but the rattle continued. His neighbors were called in and forgave him all his offenses, but still the death rattle went on. Finally some one said, "Let us send for the head camel." So the camel came, and, being too large to enter the door, had to put his supercilious head into the window. They interrogated him, "Did your master beat you?" "No, never." "Have you had enough fodder?" "Yes, always." "Have you worked too hard?" "Not at all." "Then what is it that you do not forgive?" The camel curled his lip disdainfully, and cried, "I couldn't bear to be led by that little donkey." One who has never seen a camel train will remember that the long line of stately beasts is always led by an insignificant donkey.

After the revolution of 1908 the people of Turkey suddenly dared to speak. The great army of spies was scattered and the awful fear of the old régime was removed. The oppressed nation suddenly flowered into expression; speech and the press were free. They never ill-treated the spies who had betrayed thousands of them to exile or death, but they allowed them to slip away quietly and told stories about them. The following was told by a Turkish patriot some months after the July revolution:

A ship sailing through the sea of Marmora was followed by a fearful shark. The crew and passengers huddled on deck watching the monster come on. Suddenly some one threw overboard a huge packet of paper. The shark swallowed it and came right on. Then a barrel of tar was thrown overboard, which the shark swallowed and came right on. Then a long, heavy sofa was tossed at its insatiable maw. This the shark swallowed and came right on. Then the passengers cried, "It must be the spy on board; throw over the spy." So they seized and threw the spy overboard. The shark swallowed him; and, turning on its stomach, died. Then they opened the creature to see what had killed it; and in its belly they found the spy sitting on the sofa, writing with the tar on the paper a report to the Sultan.

The simplicity of the Turks is shown in these naïve tales, and their love of beauty and artistic sensibility come out not unseldom in charming phrase or pretty thought. Their stories lose in the translation, for the Turkish language is exceptionally soft and beautiful. Ottoman humor is primitive, but not coarse; and the tricks played by characters in the tales are seldom unkind. America, looking on the Turk who governs so badly, has perhaps not had her attention drawn sufficiently to this kindly, gracious, lovable people, as shown in their homes and, to some extent, revealed in their songs and stories.

WHO WALKS THE WORLD WITH SOUL AWAKE

BY FLORENCE EARLE COATES

Who walks the world with soul awake
  Finds beauty everywhere;
Though labor be his portion,
  Though sorrow be his share,
He looks beyond obscuring clouds,
  Sure that the light is there!

And if, the ills of mortal life
  Grown heavier to bear,
Doubt come with its perplexities
  And whisper of despair,
He turns with love to suffering men—
  And, lo! God, too, is there.

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THE SPECTATOR

"E-YIP-I-ADDY-I-AY-I-AY! E-Yip-I-Addy-I-Ay!"—that was what the Spectator found himself humming into the astonished face of Mrs. Spectator as she came to let him into their rooms in a Back Bay hotel as the clock struck eleven P.M. He sang on shamelessly, observing her frigid air with deep enjoyment,

"I don't care what becomes of me
When I hear that sweet me-el-o-dee-ee-ee!"

The rest he drummed on the table. "No, my dear, it wasn't anything stronger than coffee plus four kinds of salad and fourteen kinds of frozen pudding. . . . Yes, this is Boston. You see, I've been spending an evening in the arctic desolation of a city wilderness, a lonesome region where a man may live and die in one room without ever so much as dreaming of the existence of the fellow in the room next door. I've ventured into this social desert, and I don't mind telling you that I've had the time of my life. E-*Yip*-I-Addy-I-Ay!"

Of course it was fun to outrage and mystify Mrs. Spectator; but the Spectator wasn't altogether talking for effect. He was genuinely exhilarated way down deep in his heart. For what he had that evening glimpsed was hope—hope for that pathetic thing, a gone-to-seed city neighborhood. Some years ago he had known the South End of Boston as a disintegrating region, a place where old families hung on in the fine old parks and squares, hung on from motives of sentiment or because the depreciation of property made it too expensive for them to get away, while around them poured in new elements utterly beyond their power to assimilate. The newspapers were then beginning to speak of the South End as a faded quarter. The city fathers were more than beginning to regard it as a negligible quarter. The very residents drew coldly apart the one from the other, each afraid that the suspicion of being a trifle faded might justly attach to the family next door.

Mr. William I. Cole, of the South End House, tells an illuminating tale of the period. A landlady came to him and said, "I am in great anxiety about one of my lodgers. He is a designer of ornamental borders for advertisements, and he hasn't been able to find work. I'm afraid the man doesn't get enough to eat." A little later she dropped in again to report relief. She had taken the liberty of mentioning her lodger's predicament to the man who, all winter, had occupied the room directly under him. "For goodness' sake!" he exclaimed, striking his hands together, "why didn't I know he wanted work? I'm a die-cutter, and I've been rushed to death. I've sat up half the nights this winter trying to keep ahead of my job. I could have given him plenty to do!" There were the two halves of one economic problem under the same roof.

With such melancholy recollections of the old South End, the Spectator found himself, at the time spoken of in his opening paragraph, sat the annual dinner of the South End Improvement Society, an organization only six years old. He expected a handful, and was prepared for uncomfortable social rigidity. But, lo! the great hall of the Parker Memorial was crowded with long tables, round which were seated two hundred and fifty men and women in reception rather than evening dress—as stipulated by the tickets—each guest conveniently labeled with his name, and each chattering for seven. It was less a formal dinner than a vast spread. Down the center of the tables was ranged an inspiring defile of luscious salads, steaming scallops of oysters, and platters of pink tongue and ham, to all of which delicacies the guests were free to help themselves early and often, while the waiters supplied hot coffee and later on multitudinous forms of ice-cream. Jollity sprang up naturally enough as the guests passed about the tempting viands, and then, by way of further splintering the social ice, the company was induced to join in certain rollicking choruses, among them "E-Yip-I-Addy-I-Ay." Ice? The Spectator didn't see any outside the glasses. What he did see was two hundred and fifty delightful, clubable people, on terms of easy good-fellowship. But they tell him that six years ago the social ice in the South End was palpably thick, and a rattling good time among the neighbors simply *as* neighbors would have been accounted little short of a miracle. "It's primarily a great get-together club," said Mr. Cole in the Spectator's ear, as he beamed down from his place on the dais upon the cheerful hubbub. "We've simply found each other out—discovered what hun-

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dreds of mighty good people there are left in the South End. If this society had done nothing but that, it would have been abundantly worth while."

That it has done a whole lot more than that, the gleeful choruses gave noisy proof. One, set to the tune of "Oh, You Beautiful Doll," hymned the praises of "Oh, You Great Big Beautiful Sewer!" The Spectator's neighbors enlightened his ignorance. The South End had been for years suffering with water in the cellars whenever a combination of east wind and high tide backed up the waters of South Bay, into which the district is expected to drain. The conditions, unbelievably bad, gave the city fathers no unendurable concern until the South End Improvement Society, seven hundred strong, began to voice cumulative discontent. Not peevishly, but with the serene, authoritative dignity inherent in the People when they get together in numbers great enough to command capital letters, did the united South Enders press their needs with success upon those who sit in power on Beacon Hill.

The Spectator was curious to know whether a grand trunk sewer represented the sole concrete achievement of the Society; so he hung about after the speeches were over to interrogate his old friend and one of the original instigators and prime movers in the S. E. I. S.—Mr. Cole. He soon found that the sewer was but one among many tangible gains. A pall of black smoke formerly hung over the South End, considerable of it generated by the central power station of the Boston Elevated. The bill which banished the pennon of commercial crape from that tall chimney was prepared by the Chamber of Commerce; but at all the hearings imposing rows of protesting house-owners from the S. E. I. S. helped mightily to carry the bill through. Then there was that peculiar Boston institution, the inviolable private alley, which might not be entered by any cleaning brigade without an order from the Board of Health. By joining hands with the Women's Municipal League and by appearing indefatigably at endless hearings, the South End Improvement Society helped to open the sacred alleys to the broom of the street-cleaner, who is forevermore clear of the charge of trespass.

All by themselves the S. E. I. S. tackled the transportation problem. The trolley company had long snubbed the South End in the matter of free transfers. No other section of the city suffered such niggardly treatment. South Enders had to pay two fares to cross to the Art Museum or Symphony Hall, or to the great hospitals, while suburbans were traveling four and five times the distance on a single nickel. An appeal to the trolley company brought a brief response that the company did not feel it could extend transfer privileges. Private individuals would probably have succumbed. The Society went straight to the Railroad Commission. More hearings, and more imposing rows of protesting householders, brought down an order giving the South End even more than it had dared to ask. A little later the trolley company arbitrarily discontinued a line of cars very important to the convenience of the district. Recourse to the Railroad Commission put that line right straight back.

Mr. Cole seemed inclined to attribute the success of such efforts largely to the perfect reasonableness which the Society has striven to maintain in its demands for its share of civic improvements. "We believe," said he, "that city officials want to give good service, and are doing about as well as they can under various handicaps. When the question of ash-collecting came up, we didn't start by antagonizing the Department of Public Works; we said, 'How can we cooperate with you for the improvement of the service?' We got the officials to meet with us and tell us what we had a right to expect and require, and what, on the other hand, the department can rightly expect and require of the householder. The result was so amicable an arrangement that the inspector told off to collect complaints in the district promptly joined the Society!"

It is borne in upon the Spectator that such societies as these—and there are in Boston alone no less than seventeen—will do more to build up a city on the basis of true democracy than the initiative, referendum, and recall. If each neighborhood worked for known neighborhood needs in a spirit of neighborhood loyalty and pride, not forgetting the duty of the district toward the city in its zeal to force the city to do its full duty by the district, a thousand civic problems would melt into thin air.

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THE NEW BOOKS

Guide to the Best Fiction in English (A). By Ernest A. Baker. The Macmillan Company, New York.

A new edition, enlarged and revised. This is an English work, but contains a large American section, together with lists of translated novels from the European nations. Altogether between seven and eight thousand books are mentioned, and an elaborate system of indexing and cross-indexing helps the reader to collect information not only about the individual books, but about general subjects and periods. In almost all cases descriptive notes follow the titles.

O Pioneers! By Willa S. Cather. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.25.

This honestly wrought story of the Swedes and Bohemians of our Middle West is the same kind of book as was Miss Comstock's "Soddy," of which we spoke some time since. It is a clear picture of the life of pioneers in a country at first bare and unfertile, but under right treatment richly responsive. The author evidently studied this immigrant life close at hand. There is character in her work as well as descriptive quality.

Keren of Lowbole. By Una L. Silberrad. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.25, net.

Miss Silberrad's stories are always worth reading. We are inclined to commend this book as being almost as good as her "The Good Comrade." It has strange elements in the character of the alchemist who to some extent forestalls modern scientific achievement and in his daughter Keren, who is falsely accused of witchcraft, while she is really so sympathetic with animals and people that she has something of what to-day would be called psychopathic power. There are other characters carefully and satisfactorily worked out, and there is also in a part of the book that always fascinating charm of the road and the forest traversed by fugitives and adventures. In its own class the story is one of the best we have seen for a long time.

Aunt Olive in Bohemia. By Leslie Moore. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.25, net.

The charm of simplicity and of gentle romance pervades this story. Aunt Olive is an elderly lady who has lived in narrow surroundings and restricted circumstances. She suddenly becomes possessed of a large fortune, and gratifies her amateur longings for art by setting up a studio in an artist colony in London. She is large of heart and generous of purse, and soon becomes "Aunt Olive" to the young men about her, in whose love affairs and ambitions she takes immense interest. Others, too, who need help are assisted by her in ways which are both material and friendly. Altogether, the story, while ingenuous and technically amateurish, has both sincere feeling and pleasant humor. It deserves a wide reading because it is natural and true.

Different West (The). By Arthur E. Bostwick. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $1.

Mr. Bostwick describes himself as "a transplanted Easterner." He has been well known from his connection with the New York Public Library and as President of the American Library Association; he is now at the head of the St. Louis Public Library. This little book aims to show how the Middle West is "different." It is written in a friendly spirit and a cheerful mood. There is no attempt to be final in conclusions drawn, no straining for subtlety, no carping. What strikes an observer as typical and unusual is described clearly and with illustrative anecdote and commented upon pleasantly—social methods, manners, education, reading, public activities. The book reads easily and it is entertaining.

Wayfaring in France. By Edward Harrison Barker. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

Mr. Barker acquaints us with "Wayfaring in France" no longer by a lengthy account as hitherto, but by a rearrangement of that account, taking a part of each of his three volumes, with some retouching and putting the whole into one book. Mr. Barker went on foot from Auvergne to the Bay of Biscay at Biarritz. All trampers in Europe will appreciate Mr. Barker's enjoyment in this means of locomotion; as he says, it appeases a certain hunger of the mind, and it also appeases the craving for "that incomparable sense of well-being and physical gain which is to be derived in the fullest measure from this simple way of seeing the world." He adds:

> Also, I must own that the love of nature in desolate places and vast solitudes drew me to the stony wastes and savage gorges of the upper Dordogne, likewise to the solemn and strangely silent pine forests which cover the sandy desert of dunes near the Atlantic shore. . . .
>
> But there were human and artistic interests too. Not only is the Dordogne one of the most beautiful of rivers, flowing through country that constantly warms the imagination with the stern grandeur or the soft charm of its scenery; . . . its crags are crowned with the ruins of many a castle which, with rock-clinging vestiges of brigands' strongholds, still evoke the spirit of the feudal and turbulent times. And the religious buildings raised in the "ages of faith," what artistic teaching, what survival of human thought—somber, fantastic, striving for inspiration, or breaking forth into the joy of purpose fulfilled—are to be found in these, not only in the larger centers of life, but also in the poor villages hidden away in the folds of the hills.

Who would not take a walk with such a walker?

Mexico, the Land of Unrest. By Henry Baerlein. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

This work has value because it records the observation of an English newspaper corre-

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spondent in the period before and during the Mexican revolt against Diaz and during the government of Madero. It comes down so late as to include the death of Madero. The fault of the book is that its five hundred pages might very well have been condensed and edited more thoroughly. Mr. Baerlein's final estimate of the Mexicans is: "They are childish. . . . Have you ever seen a boy tear up a living beetle and a moment later say that yonder ripples of the olive tree are like his mother's hand? . . . So are the Mexicans." Politics, poetry, revolutions, personal traits, cruelty, the slaves of Yucatan, gambling—such are a few of the topics touched upon. The photographs are extremely interesting, and include pictures of events even in 1913.

Diary of Frances Lady Shelley, 1818-1873. Edited by her Grandson, Richard Edgcumbe. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $6.

Lady Shelley's Diary has decided charm, for in it the diarist fearlessly draws her own portrait. The work also affords much high-class gossip concerning English society during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. The glimpse of the Duke of Wellington is certainly worth while. One must go back some centuries to find the common ancestor of the poet Shelley and Sir John Shelley, Lady Shelley's husband.

Some Influences in Modern Philosophic Thought. By Arthur Twining Hadley. Yale University Press, New Haven. $1.

The thoughts of thinking men have experienced a great transformation since the days of our grandfathers. At the end of the nineteenth century the explanation of the universe accepted at its beginning had been discarded for a very different one. How this intellectual revolution came to pass is lucidly set forth by President Hadley in a way attractive to readers who care little for philosophical discussions. Of the three great discoveries announced about the middle of the century—the law of the conservation of energy, the theory of cellular tissue, and the process of elimination by natural selection—the last named, *i. e.*, Darwinism, has been the most effective in the transformation of thought upon the world as a whole. It has transformed our conceptions of the whole process of history past and present, of the origin and development of ethical conceptions, and of the progress of civilization. It has become the basis of a new spiritual philosophy of life, and is now welcomed by progressive theologians as an effective contribution to theistic philosophy. In the light of this cardinal law Dr. Hadley reviews the gradual advance since 1789 to new views of politics and ethics through the revolutionary, the individualistic, and the nationalistic stage of European thought, with its American parallels, up to its outcome in the new philosophy of pragmatism. This he guardedly accepts so far as this: "The criterion which shows whether a thing is right or wrong is its permanence." In working out this criterion the Darwinian struggle of higher with lower forms of life has its spiritual counterpart. This philosophy of life as a conflict is the theme of an original and instructive exhibition of "the spiritual basis of recent poetry," in which such writers as Browning and Kipling point men of action to their place and inspire them to their duty in the church militant. In this little book a great subject has been presented in a strikingly suggestive and helpful light.

Popular Botany. By A. E. Knight and Edward Step. Two vols. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $5.

This is a popular illustrated work particularly notable for the miscellany of its full-page reproduced photographs and for the beauty of its many colored plates. The authors quote the saying of Professor Dawson, "I hate theology and botany, but I love religion and flowers," and they have prepared this work in that spirit, with frequent reference to literary associations and occasional poetic quotation. In short, they try to make the study of botany not a dead letter but a living word by bringing it close to nature and man.

Britannic Question (The). By Richard Jebb. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 35c.

It has been said that outside of Tammany Hall and the Roman Catholic Church the most perfect organization in the world is the British Empire. Mr. Jebb's suggestive comment on that Empire challenges attention, particularly as his volume is remarkably compact. The author puts before his readers the newest phase of imperialism. We in this country take a special interest in the latter-day development of imperialism, since that development seems about to affect more closely our next-door neighbors, the Canadians. This may be seen in the varying fortunes of the bill now before the Dominion Parliament providing for a Canadian addition to the British navy.

Men Around the Kaiser. By Frederic William Wile. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $1.75.

William II of Germany is doubtless a great Kaiser and statesman. But he must owe some of his wisdom and far-sightedness to his advisers. Mr. Wile tells us about them in the present very interesting volume. For instance, he tells us about Admiral von Tirpitz, whom he calls the creator of the navy; about Herr Ballin, the head of the greatest steamship line in the world; about Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor, who happens to be also a philosopher; and about Prince Fürstenberg, one of the Kaiser's closest friends, and, as Mr. Wile says, "the man behind the throne." We are informed concerning thirty of the Kaiser's advisers and those who may have influenced him. In the list Americans will find the name of the present German Ambassador at Wash-

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ington, Count von Bernstorff. Mr. Wile justly dubs him "a democratic diplomat." We read Mr. Wile's opinion that the Ambassador "not only took to shirt-sleeve diplomacy as gracefully as Sternberg had before him, but even excelled him in the arts of which an Ambassador desirous of serving his country well at Washington must be a master." Mr. Wile continues:

Bernstorff, by temperament and training, is the kind of envoy who believes in laying his cards on the table. There is nothing Machiavellian in his methods. He does not transact diplomatic business with a dark lantern. He is not afraid to talk. Directness is the cudgel by which he lays the most store. He thinks the sage who said that tarriers in Rome ought to do as the Romans had ambassadors especially in mind. He began cutting his cloth to the American measure from the hour he set foot in Massachusetts Avenue. . . .

Count Bernstorff has always found himself peculiarly at home in the American environment, because of his extreme amiability and frankness. He has met the Yankee on his own ground as a story-teller, after-dinner speaker, and master of repartee. . . .

Bernstorff also left behind him in Germany his . . . countrymen's contempt for the press. He found that newspaper men in America were not only worth knowing but [were] the real wielders of power. . . .

The Kaiser is a man who knows his business, and that is why he keeps Bernstorff at Washington.

Holland and the Dutch. By Demetrius C. Boulger. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.

Mr. Boulger's "Holland of the Dutch" is worth reading because it is very Dutch! In the first place, it is Dutch because it is methodical in its "layout." In the second place, its information seems entirely trustworthy, but is often detailed with a Dutch meticulousness some of which might have been spared. In the third place, it has a sedate Dutch atmosphere, as revealed in its descriptions whether of things or men. Take, for instance, the sketch of Dr. Kuyper, the late Prime Minister, sometimes called "the Grand Old Man of Holland." He is such, we suppose, because of his work in the Dutch Parliament and as Premier, and because he has long been the leader of the Dutch Independent Church. He founded the New University at Amsterdam. He also founded and long edited the Amsterdam "Standard," a paper which proclaims as its doctrine God and the King, or, rather, the Bible and the Sovereign. It is remarkable in this age of disbelief, Mr. Boulger says, to find a man making the Bible the foundation of all his opinions. "This is less surprising when the individual is a Calvinist. But it disturbs all preconceived notions to find him at the same time a champion of the divine right of kings."

Trans-Himalaya: Discoveries and Adventure in Tibet. By Sven Hedin. Vol. III. The Macmillan Company, New York. $4.50.

The third volume of Sven Hedin's "Trans-Himalaya" has now appeared, and continues the account of the Swedish explorer's discoveries and adventures in Tibet. The text is as interesting as in the preceding volumes, and is reinforced by over a hundred and fifty illustrations from the author's photographs, water-color sketches, and drawings. Our readers may remember that the first volume of this monumental work was published three years ago. We hope that the author will add a fourth volume—not so much to acquaint us further with Tibet as to give an account of his journey home through Siberia.

Poems of Paul Mariett (The). Mitchell Kennerly, New York. $1.

A poet of high promise who dies with that promise still unfulfilled has little claim to recognition from the general public; yet more than a passing word of pity can be accorded the gallant boy of whose brief life this posthumous volume is the only memorial. This poem of Mariett's, published in the "Atlantic" after his death, has more than a merely tragic significance:

THE GRATEFUL DEAD

The grateful dead, they say, lie snug and close
Under the smooth, soft sloping of the grass.
Grateful indeed because above them pass
No other steps than those of wind or bird—
No other sound is heard.

For without eyes we see, and, earless, hear;
Sweeter is this than nights of restless mood,
Sweeter than nights of blank infinitude,
Sweeter than ghostly pageants of a dream,
Half-caught, of things that seem.

Another life have we than those who live,
Another death have we than those who die.
Mortal and ghost and angel pass us by—
Mortal and ghost and angel have one breath—
Die, would ye learn of death.

Italy in the Thirteenth Century. By Henry Dwight Sedgwick. In 2 vols. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $5.

No period in the history of civilization is of more moment than the thirteenth century. This was specially true of Italy. Such names as Dante, Giotto, the Pisani, Petrarch, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Thomas Aquinas, Pope Innocent III, and Frederick II of Sicily come to mind as one reviews that great age. It is a satisfaction that such an erudite scholar and informative writer as is Mr. Sedgwick has undertaken to give in these volumes a history of that period in Italy. It differs from other surveys. It comprises a series of monographs rather than a connected history. But the monographs are well set. Take that on St. Francis, for instance:

It is necessary to wander about in Umbria in order to understand Francis, for the simple, innocent beauty of the country there is the symbol in landscape of his art. Behind Assisi Mount Subasio descends in deep, stern slopes to the plain; the olive groves glimmer and shimmer when the wind blows down from the Apennines on its way to the purple horizon; the little rivers, the Topino and the Chiascio, flow through green fields (in Francis's time covered with forests) down the tawny Tiber; gentle, well-mannered peasants with sad eyes and soft voices drive glorious silvery oxen from furrow to furrow, and all things in lowland and upland, on earth and in the sky, the glory of the morning, the beauty of the sunset, the bells of the churches, the larks, the swallows, and the wayside flowers, unite in an unwritten melody of good will toward men.

If in humanizing the Church St. Francis was the greatest figure of the thirteenth century, we

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must not forget that in religious philosophy another figure stands forth, whose influence has also continued from age to age—namely, St. Thomas Aquinas. To Mr. Sedgwick such a mystical thinker as Bonaventura means more than does Thomas Aquinas. Yet he describes the latter's "Summa" in apt words:

> His hypotheses . . . constitute a great palace and royal garden, a sort of theological Versailles. The palace methodically designed in long series of rooms and chambers, the park laid out in formal magnificence, each part, each division, each detail, following on in logical, almost mathematical precision. Everything is charted, plotted, arranged precept on precept, line upon line, all in accordance with the fundamental plan.

The volumes will probably be read and enjoyed chiefly as episodical and biographical chapters. Some of them, indeed, might almost pass as independent studies—"Papal Jurisprudence" and the "University of Bologna," for instance. But to one familiar with the history of the thirteenth century these volumes also represent a continuity. One reads between the lines and one reads between the chapters. There is also a consciousness that behind all of Mr. Sedgwick's statements lie years of travel, study, and sympathy. Of the two volumes, the first is to be the more commended to the general reader. This is not the author's fault. His material for the second volume is of necessity not so compelling in interest as is the material for the first, concerned as it is largely with Joachim, the Prophet; Francis, the Saint; Innocent, the Pope, and Frederick, the King.

Philippine Problem, 1898–1913 (The). By Frederick Chamberlin. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50.

Mr. Chamberlin's book on the Philippines is the result of personal investigation of conditions in the Far East. The book is desirable for reference, for it records the results of other problems than those of to-day—for instance, the problem of 1898, when the American occupation began—the problems of education, of the Friar lands, of the American personnel in the islands, of the economic improvements there and of the cost of Government maintenance. Mr. Chamberlin then takes up the problem of the future—independence, naturalization, continued occupation. His book will hardly appeal to those who want immediate Philippine independence. This subject is discussed with impartiality. The author depicts the natural desires of the islanders and prophesies the probability of occasional injustices done to them by America. But with this there is brought out the improbability of any retention of autonomy by the islanders with the free hand which Germany, Japan, Great Britain, and France would have. As to neutralism, Mr. Chamberlin shows that ninety per cent of the Filipinos would relapse into the helpless condition which they endured under Spain. There remains a third policy; in McKinley's words, "to take to these distant peoples the principles of liberty, of freedom, of conscience, and of opportunity that are enjoyed by the people of the United States." This should appeal to most Americans, even though every extremist in the extension of democracy may not agree with Mr. Chamberlin's warning: "If it be true that we are not going to set these people free until they can run a pure democracy like our own, that time will never arrive. The Oriental will never want a pure democracy, as it is contrary to his idea of what a government should be." Though there is a protest at the "hopeless task" of making a "Caucasian mind in an Oriental skull," Mr. Chamberlin concludes that "the logic of the entire situation . . . inevitably may compel us to continue as we have begun."

Religion as Life. By Henry Churchill King, D.D., LL.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.

Simplicity, directness, persuasiveness, characterize this small volume. Religion is exhibited as self-realization in the fullness of life. It is pressed upon our choice with peculiar urgency by the present moral crisis of the Nation. From urging its choice in view of the alternative of a defeated life, Dr. King proceeds in successive chapters to point out the indispensable methods of the victorious life, its realities grounded in the basic facts of our nature, its sources, especially in Christ, as the most significant of all known facts, its enemies and the temptations they present. This line of thought comes to a noble climax in the concluding chapter on the essence of life, as a sharing of God's life through unreserved adoption of his will as our own, for "there is fullness of life in the will of God." Here Dr. King notes the strange fact that the petition, "Thy will be done," is commonly used to express resignation rather than resolution. Even church hymnals generally utter the submissive rather than the martial spirit of soldiers following the Captain of our salvation. Yet it is a petition that includes every good, "all high enterprise, and all great goals. . . . We men of the modern age must enlarge and deepen our conception of the will of God if we are to meet the real demands of our time." We have met with no better book than this for the fostering of the virile, heroic type of Christianity needed to overcome the evils of the world.

An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics. By P. O. Ray. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.

This is something more than a text-book about political parties and practical politics, although it is so described by the author. The treatment of such subjects as the spoils system, the recall, the direct primary, and political machines and bosses is not merely a statement of facts, but a thoughtful study. At the end of each chapter is an appendix, giving bibliographical and other references and a summary of questions and debates.

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THE READER'S VIEW

THADDEUS STEVENS AND RECONSTRUCTION

[While it is not ordinarily possible to publish dissenting letters from authors of books reviewed in The Outlook, it seems desirable to make an exception in the case of Professor Woodburn's letter printed below, as he feels that in certain particulars his position was inadvertently incorrectly stated in our review in The Outlook of July 5.—THE EDITORS.]

Permit me to say that I am not "in thorough sympathy with the Reconstruction policy which Stevens represented and did so much to impose upon the country." I dissented from the policy of military reconstruction which was finally enacted, and the policy of confiscation which Stevens urged. In preparing the "Stevens" I did not deem the author's opinions of importance, but sought rather to present the policies which Stevens favored and his reasons for them with the sympathy which every biographer should show for his subject—a willingness to allow him to speak for himself as fully and fairly as possible—a sympathy which extended, in this case, to showing that all the ills and mistakes of Reconstruction are not to be laid at the door of Thaddeus Stevens.

I believe, and have long believed, that Reconstruction should have been accomplished on the basis of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, involving a just reapportionment of political power, freedom for the slave, citizenship and civil rights for the Negro, under the protection of the National Constitution. These results of the war could not have been obtained without a struggle which involved resistance to the policy of President Johnson, as well as to that of the "Peace Democrats" who sought restoration without conditions—"peace at any price" under the "Constitution as it was." The struggle in Reconstruction as well as against slavery involved questions of human rights and fundamental justice. The famous utterance of General Grant which you quote, "Let us have peace," was not made until after the Reconstruction legislation was an accomplished fact. Grant helped Stevens rather than Johnson or the "Peace Democrats" in Reconstruction. He was never disposed to give too large a price for peace. Though Grant had never been an Abolitionist, I think he had some appreciation of the old Abolition maxim, "Peace if possible, but justice at any price." JAMES A. WOODBURN.

Department of
History and Political Science,
Indiana University.

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC SITUATION

Owing to the non-recognition of the Mexican Government by the United States, Mexico finds herself diplomatically in a false position; as it is impossible for her, on this account, to accredit an ambassador at Washington. Now, the United States continues to be represented in Mexico by a diplomat of ambassadorial rank. This is neither regular nor just; the lack of reciprocity in the matter is unjust. It is not, for the rest, a mere question of precedence, sentiment, or dignity.

From a strictly practical point of view it is constantly necessary, for a variety of reasons which it would be superfluous to insist on, that Mexico be represented at the American capital by a diplomat of note. From this point of view, Mexico certainly has ground to demand reciprocity of treatment and standing.

"If you maintain an ambassador here," it says to the United States, "enable me to maintain one at Washington."

This in so far as international relations are concerned. As to Mexico's internal politics, it is undeniable that non-recognition is a setback to the work of pacification. Non-recognition is hurtful in the sense that it affects the prestige of the Government in the eyes of the masses and encourages the rebels to defy the authorities. It is unquestionable that the attitude of the White House gives a certain moral force to the Sonora and Coahuila rebels, who claim to be fighting for legitimacy, and who give themselves the title of "Constitutionalists."

On the other hand, the popular elements favorable to the present government, apprised as to the secessionist tendencies attributed, rightly or wrongly, to the northern rebels, see in the conduct of the American Government a refined Machiavellism. This will be regarded as absurd by all who are aware of the radical honesty of President Wilson and his advisers; but the people are simple minded in their sentiments and conjectures. And, for the rest, do not appearances admit of comparisons between present occurrences in Sonora and the events which led to the separation of Texas in 1847? The conduct of the Washington authorities has, thus, the painful result of awakening in the Mexican people a sentiment of distrust toward Americans, and indirectly against everything foreign in Mexico. A. B. EHRMANN.

New York City.

CALVINISM AND ARMINIANISM

Dr. Vail's article on "The Five Points of Calvinism" in The Outlook of June 21 reminds me of Sam Jones's saying: "If a Methodist goes to perdition, we say, 'He has lost his religion;' but if a Presbyterian goes to perdition, we say, 'He had no religion to lose.' Well, the devil gets them both; so it is all the same either way."

It is said of Toplady, a bitter Calvinist in the days of the Wesleys, that he tried to write a hymn which no Methodist could ever sing, and it was "Rock of Ages," one line of which reads, "Simply to thy cross I cling." In Charles Wesley's hymn "Jesus, Lover of my Soul," one

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line reads, "Hangs my helpless soul on thee." So Charles Wesley out-Calvined Toplady, and Calvinists and Arminians have been singing both hymns around the world for more than a century.

In like manner the Cumberland Presbyterian Confession of Faith, intended to be semi-Arminian, changes the Westminster "Perseverance of the Saints" to the "Preservation of Believers," again out-Calvining the Calvinists from whom they separated.

Some one (Dr. Cuyler, I think) said: "On our knees in prayer, asking God's grace and power, we are all Calvinists; and on our feet at work pleading with men to do what they ought, we are all Arminians; and if we pray all the time, as we should, and work all the time, as we should, we are both Calvinists and Arminians: for the two are one at heart, though emphasizing different sides of the whole truth."

Once more, Sam Jones said: "I am a Methodist, you are a Baptist: yes, but if our mothers had swapped babies when we were little you would have been the Methodist and I the Baptist." What matters, if each is a devoted Christian? F. D. SEWARD.

Moneta, California.

THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Can you recommend some authentic book giving information regarding the first knowledge of Christ, when the very first legends and manuscripts concerning Christ were discovered, preached, etc.? In fact, I would like any volume giving positive instruction (irrespective of prejudice) regarding above subjects. G. P.

St. Moritz, Switzerland.

The earliest authentic history is in the New Testament, especially in the first three Gospels, written between 65 and 90 A.D. Professor Petrie, the distinguished Egyptologist, has shown in his "Nucleus of the Gospel" that a short summary of the apostolic testimony concerning Jesus probably existed before 50 A.D. in written form. He gives this, and also the subsequent additions to it that he finds distinguishable in our present Gospels. Other memoranda in agreement with the Gospel story have been preserved in the apostolic epistles. The earliest of these, to the Thessalonians, dates from about the year 48; those to the Corinthians four or five years later. Of notices by Roman writers there are none till the end of the century, when Tacitus records that Jesus was put to death by Pilate, and Suetonius states that a tumult was raised in Rome by the Jews, of which "Chrestus" (probably Christ) was the occasion, in consequence of which the Emperor Claudius, who died A.D. 54, expelled them. The Romanized Jew, Josephus, at the end of the first century makes a brief reference to Jesus, but the passage is regarded as of doubtful authenticity. It could not be expected that heathen historians would notice the movement begun by Jesus until it had become noteworthy in its spread through the empire. This first receives prominent attention in the year 112, and appears in a letter to the Emperor Trajan from the Younger Pliny, then governor of Bithynia in the northeastern part of Asia Minor. (See "Selected Letters of Pliny;" Clarendon Press Series.) Pliny reports the conditions that had developed in that remote province, and asks for instructions how to deal with them. He states that Christians had so multiplied that these temples had become "almost desolate." He describes their custom of meeting on "a stated day" before sunrise, to sing "a responsive chant to Christus as a god," and to bind themselves by a solemn pledge to a pure and upright life; then reassembling in the evening for a "social and innocent meal"—the so-called *agape*, or love-feast, the weekly communion of the Lord's Supper. As to "the very first legends," the Gospels themselves are not wholly free from them—*e. g.*, Matthew xxvii., 52, 53. The second century is the legendary period; then the so-called apocryphal gospels arose. The earliest extant manuscripts date from the fourth and fifth centuries. The Sinaitic MS. now at St. Petersburg, and the Vatican MS. at Rome, antedate all others. "The Growth of the New Testament," by Muzzey, is a helpful little book.—THE EDITORS.

AUSTRO-HUNGARY: ANOTHER VIEW

Allow me to enter a vigorous protest against the contention made by Count Apponyi in his recent article in The Outlook that Austria-Hungary will not break up, because Hungary will hold the dual monarchy together.

I have spent the past year in Austria-Hungary, and have made a careful study of political conditions in the monarchy. That Count Apponyi should write an article of such a character for an American magazine is perfectly in accord with the policy of the Hungarian Government to place before the world *only* the Hungarian view-point of the internal affairs of the monarchy. We Americans receive most of our information as to Austro-Hungarian conditions either from German or from Hungarian sources, and remain in ignorance of the view-point of the *majority* of the subjects of Francis Joseph, viz., the view-point of the Slavs.

I will not venture to say whether or not Austria-Hungary will break up; but no unprejudiced observer can say that it is Hungary that is holding the monarchy together. On the contrary, the dissension among the various nationalities is much more acute in Hungary than in Austria. There is more pressure from above in Hungary than in Austria, and consequently more restlessness and a greater spirit of revolt from below. One has only to talk with an intelligent Croatian or Slovak in order to realize that there are there burning fires of revolt.

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I have carefully endeavored to obtain an impartial view of the nationality question here. I have talked with Hungarians on the subject and read Hungarian books. Hungary is attempting to do what we *are* doing in America, namely, to assimilate all the alien nationalities within her borders. But there is this difference between the process of assimilation in Hungary and in America: assimilation in Hungary is forced assimilation; assimilation of the aliens in America is and *must always be* a natural process, the result of the inherent value of our cultural and commercial life. Hungary will never be Magyarized until the cultural and commercial life of the Magyars reaches such a point that all nationalities will see that it is for their good to become Magyarized—and the Magyar culture is far from being at such a point. The Hungarian Government might well use some of the energy employed in enforcing the Magyar tongue upon the Slovaks, Croatians, and Rumanians, in building up her own national life. Aristocratic, autocratic, proud, and haughty, the Hungarian Government is causing untold misery to the peasants living within her borders—to Hungarian peasants as well as to those of other nationalities.

It is due the millions of Slavs now making their home in the United States that the state of affairs in their home land be put before the American people, so that we, as Americans, may have a greater degree of sympathy with our Slavic fellow-citizens. Let any American read Seton-Watson's "Racial Problems in Hungary," and decide for himself whether Austria-Hungary shall break up.

Rev. Kenneth Dexter Miller,
Immigration Fellow
Presbyterian Board of Home Missions.
Turoczentmartin, Hungary.

SINCE THE TITANIC SANK

Does the general public realize what has been done since the sinking of the Titanic in making life secure in case of similar disaster to ocean-going vessels? To one who has given considerable thought to the subject and whose personal friends are interested in a professional way, it seems certain that much of the recent advance in this direction has not received the prominence it deserves. To a large part of the public the subject seems to be an unpleasant one, and its importance exists only in the realm of sub-consciousness, if at all. It would seem that, inasmuch as there will take place in London this coming fall an international congress to consider the question of safety at sea, and as the United States and other governments have the subject under consideration, more attention might well be given to it.

In his Gettysburg address Lincoln used the words "that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain." In the stress of feeling that followed the loss of the Titanic and so many of her human freight a similar sentiment was frequently voiced; but to-day little is heard either as to the loss of life in that disaster or of means of preventing marine catastrophes in the future. Nevertheless, much has been done, thanks to stricter laws and a more or less changed attitude on the part of shipowners, and at least a latent demand on the part of the traveling public. Mere luxury no longer suffices. A brief recounting of progress made is of interest.

In addition to the more extensive use of wireless telegraph and the building of ships with double bottoms, there is the greatly increased number of lifeboats and life rafts, with improved methods of launching them, now to be found on ocean, river, sound, and lake vessels. With regard to the transatlantic lines, no better examples of provisions for safety in case of extreme disaster can be mentioned than those found on the great Imperator of the Hamburg-American Line and on the remodeled Olympic of the White Star Line. A striking feature of the Imperator is the removal of a number of the lifeboats from the top deck to the lower promenade deck. Her boats are lowered by means of steel ropes and mechanism which enables one operator to control each boat. It should be remembered that these boats, each capable of holding some seventy-five persons, are lowered from a height corresponding to the top of a six or seven story building. The Imperator carries eighty-three lifeboats, and for their launching are provided the Welin davits (invented by a Swedish engineer residing in London), and each set is designed to launch boat after boat in succession. On the Olympic are sixty-eight lifeboats, instead of the twenty originally intended. They repose in two rows—that is, two abreast. On this ship also the Welin double-acting davits are installed.

In England a Government-appointed commission, under the presidency of Sir J. H. Biles, is studying the marine safety question and has rendered an interim report. In the United States the Army Transport Service has been experimenting with various types of boats. At Newport News tests have been made of lifeboats of various kinds, and as a result the Transport Service has purchased 176 of the Lundin decked lifeboats and Welin apparatus for launching them. The Lundin boats are especially interesting in that they are of the scow type not infrequently found in Scandinavian waters, with a spoon-shaped bow and stern considerably raised to cope with rough water and capable of being nested, that is, piled two or three high, to save deck space. Each boat can carry sixty persons seated.

While much remains to be done in securing maximum safety at sea, splendid progress has been made, as the facts indicate. No precaution should be spared. Incidentally the lead of the

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United States in marine regulations will be followed by other countries, for the reason that a large percentage of the lines which fly their flags find their heaviest passenger traffic to and from this country.

CHARLES LUNDBERG.

"The Iron Age," New York City.

OF, BY, AND FOR THE PEOPLE

In the very interesting article in The Outlook by Mr. Jesse W. Weik, entitled "Lincoln's Gettysburg Address," reference is made to several printed addresses by Theodore Parker, found in a package of papers that had been carefully put away by Mr. Lincoln, in which addresses the idea of a "government over all, by all, and for the sake of all" is expressed. Relative to the conjecture of the writer as to whether or not the expression was original with Mr. Parker, I beg to suggest that "the real origin of this noble sentiment" is to be found in the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, delivered by Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of M'Culloch against the State of Maryland, 4th Wheaton's Reports, 316, 405, decided in 1819. In that case, after pointing out the change in the nature of the Federal Government that had been effected by the adoption of the Constitution—the change being from a league between the several States, under the old Articles of Confederation, to a popular representative government—the great Chief Justice gives the result of his reasoning on this point in these words (italics mine): "The government of the Union, then, is emphatically and truly a government *of* the people. Its powers are granted *by* them, and are to be exercised directly *on* them, and *for* their benefit."

And let me add the suggestion that had the Constitution been differently interpreted by the court of last resort, interpreted as Mr. Jefferson would have interpreted it, a "government of the people, by the people, for the people" would indeed have perished from the earth, and occasion for the immortal Gettysburg address would never have occurred. L. L. LEWIS.

Richmond, Virginia.

PRISON LABOR AND PRISON PRODUCTS

In the article "Can Labor Be Organized?" in your issue of July 5, you point out very clearly that in conserving the Sherman Law the courts seem to be unable to distinguish between labor on the one hand, and the products of labor, or commodities, on the other.

This failure is all the more noteworthy because in another connection the distinction is clearly recognized in judicial opinion. Both the National Government and several of the States have passed laws prohibiting prison authorities from making contracts for the labor of prisoners with private interests. When, in apparent violation of these laws, contracts have been made for the sale of the entire product of the labor of such prisoners, the courts, and the United States Attorney-General as well, held that the statutes applied to the labor only of the prisoners, not to the products of their labor.

It seems that when the interests of a group so powerful financially, politically, and socially as the prison labor contractors are to be served, the courts are very astute to find distinctions, but that their sense of discrimination becomes dulled only when the interests of wage-earners are in the balance. WILLIAM PHILLIPS.

New York City.

THE OLDEST CHURCH IN AMERICA

In The Outlook of June 21, page 367, we said, "The Episcopal Church is not the American Church. To be entitled to that name it should be either the oldest church in America, or the most democratic church in America, or the largest church in America." Three Episcopalians write us to the same effect—that the Episcopal Church is the oldest in America, *outside the Church of Rome*. Then it is not the oldest church in America. The Church of Rome would be the oldest, and if age justifies a church in assuming the title of "American Church," it would be the Roman Catholic Church which should take that title, and we judge the Roman Catholic Church has no desire to take that title. Our correspondents who criticise our statement, by their very criticism simply confirm it. —THE EDITORS.

ABOUT GETTYSBURG

In an article on "The Battle of Gettysburg," published in The Outlook of June 21, I erred in describing one of the events of the first day. I said on pages 374 and 375, "Between ten and eleven o'clock General Howard had arrived in the town and had heard the news of Reynolds's death. Seeing the strategic importance of Culp's Hill, he gave orders that it be fortified." It was not Culp's Hill but Cemetery Hill which was thus fortified on the first day.

ELSIE SINGMASTER.

THE WORKING-GIRLS' VACATION SOCIETY

The long hot spell has caused many girls to break down and apply to the Working-Girls' Vacation Society of New York City for a vacation. The Society has now on its books two hundred of these girls who for lack of funds can't be sent away, and who are patiently waiting for two weeks of fresh air and good food.

Will the friends of the Society and of working-girls help these girls to a vacation? Forty dollars will give a girl with a tubercular tendency four weeks at Santa Clara, including railway fare and medical care. Ten dollars will pay for two weeks, including traveling expenses. Contributions of any amount will be acceptable, and may be sent to the Treasurer, Miss Edith Bryce, 105 E. 22d St., Room 413, New York City.

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MANY INVENTIONS

THE TRIUMPH OF THE DIRIGIBLE

The fact that Count Zeppelin, on his seventy-fifth birthday, two or three weeks ago, took the steering-wheel on the first voyage of his twentieth dirigible balloon was the occasion of universal felicitation. It also brought out not a little appreciative review of the substantial, actual accomplishment in this form of aerial navigation. The extracts that follow are from an editorial in the New York "Evening Post:"

On this side of the water few have any conception of the development of this branch of aerial transportation. The cable has just brought the news this week of the founding of a British company to start a dirigible service between London and Manchester and other cities, and also between London and Paris. In Germany the Zeppelin Company has ships at Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, and Baden-Baden which make almost daily flights—one of them reported one hundred successive air voyages last summer without the slightest mishap of any kind. None of the thousands of passengers carried has met with any injury; indeed, while the aeroplane claims its victims day by day, the Zeppelins have cost not one life thus far. But, for all that, the Zeppelin Company announces a loss of $375,000 on its operations during 1912. The Germans themselves are slow to support the company by patronizing its air-ships; their passengers are mostly tourists and foreigners who are not deterred by the high prices charged. The company employs, moreover, a large and costly technical staff; each air-ship has its engineers and its pilots and a crew of hostlers and workmen. The "harbors" from which they start are usually located inconveniently, and the systematic building up of passenger traffic seems to be neglected. The "harbors" themselves are costly to build and costly to maintain.

Despite the progress made, the dirigible is still in danger as soon as it touches the ground, if there is a wind blowing. In the air the pilots feel quite at home, and are less and less afraid of high winds. But landing remains a difficult problem; the free services of soldiers help here, and the army responds gladly to any request for aid. But 400 able-bodied men clinging to ropes cannot hold a Zeppelin if a heavy gust strikes it. This is the chief problem before the engineers, and it is one whlch somehow or other must be solved. . . .

Three weeks ago a navy Zeppelin, with a naval crew, left Berlin at 12:30 o'clock on a moonlight night, cruised to Hamburg, and then out to the Island of Rügen in the North Sea; returning to the coast, it came down on the water and lay there for half an hour. On rising, it roamed about the coast, and then, flying back, reached Berlin in comfort and ease at 7:30 o'clock. So remarkable an annihilation of space as this is now deemed worthy of only a few lines in the Berlin newspapers. Inevitably, one wonders what such a ship will not be capable of in another six years—it is but six since Zeppelin made his first successful flights in the Zeppelin III.

TREES, TOYS, AND TIMBER

The United States Forestry Department sends out Forest Notes which are both interesting and instructive. We select a few items:

A shingle mill in Maine uses 2,000 cords of paper birch each year in the manufacture of toothpicks. The new Chinese Republic has established a department of agriculture and forestry. For a long time China had been pointed out as the most backward nation in forest work. A toy company at Sheboygan, Wisconsin, started out to use only the waste wood from other mills. It has worked out a system of using all small waste pieces so that practically nothing but the sawdust is lost. Austria not only sells timber but timber products from its forest lands, and disposes of about 1,500,000 railway ties a year. There is no provision in the United States by which the National forests can dispose of manufactured lumber, though the policy of selling standing timber is well established. The Canadian Government has supplied twenty-five million tree seedlings to farmers, principally in the Alberta and Regina plains region. The United States does not supply young trees to the public except in a limited area in Nebraska, under the terms of the Kinkaid Act.

OIL-BURNING STEAMSHIPS

A report has been currently published that the British navy has committed itself to the policy of oil fuel to the exclusion of coal, while it is also reported that the United States is providing for oil-burners only in future battleships. The "Scientific American" doubts the accuracy of these reports, and comments, in part, as follows:

It is inconceivable that Great Britain, owning no extensive oil fields, should commit herself irrevocably to this policy, and it is not believed that the United States navy has so committed itself. We believe, rather, that the United States navy simply desires to experiment in oil-burning, and that its action in the case of the three or four most recent ships is not to be regarded as a precedent or as a fixed policy. This belief is based on the well-known fact that while the United States is in a better position as to a supply of oil fuel than is Great Britain, still the Government controls very little oil-bearing land of known value. The opinion expressed by some experts as to the total known and probable supply of oil is that it scarcely equals five per cent of the total known and probable supply of coal. It is also to be remarked that the oil supply is owned and controlled largely, if not exclusively, by well-nigh all-powerful trusts, who are able to manipulate the prices to

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suit their convenience, or to withhold the supply absolutely if they see fit. . . .

The action of the Standard Oil Company and its subsidiary companies in the fall of 1912, by which they refused to renew contracts with large customers and failed to deliver the required amounts under the then existing contracts, shows conclusively that the demand for crude oil and residual oil as fuel is now apace with the demand for the lighter fractions, so that the future effort of the oil interests will be to refine only a sufficient amount of oil to so supply the demand for gasoline and naphthas as to keep the price of these products at the highest possible level. There will necessarily result an ever-increasing shortage in the supply of fuel oil, both residual and crude, so that we may expect a continual increasing price on this product. . . . It is believed that the United States navy should build its capital ships primarily as coal-burners, providing oil stowage simply as an adjunct. The cost and availability of fuel are the only questions that need be considered, so far as the navy is concerned, since the complement of a war vessel includes a sufficient number of men to handle the fuel and the refuse under ordinary cruising conditions.

STEERING SHIPS FROM SHORE

The following account of a recent experiment, which seems to be an extension to the wireless of methods already applied to the steering by wire of torpedoes, is given by Mr. V. J. Youmans in the New York "Evening Post;" he derives his information from "an obscure corner of the London 'Times;'" no less a sea monster than the new Imperator was the subject of the experiment:

The wizard ashore appears to have been Dr. Lirpa of the Gesellschaft für drahtlose Telegraphie, of Berlin. His apparatus was apparently similar in principle to that described by Wirth two years ago, and illustrated on a small scale both at Berlin and Nürnberg. It is said that Dr. Lirpa was able to change the course of the Imperator against the will of her pilot, and could also prevent the latter from carrying out the maneuvers ordered by the captain.

At first sight it might seem that the power to interfere with the steering of a mammoth liner (or battle-ship) from a shore station or fort was a thing of vast naval importance and almost limitless possibilities. In naval battles and for coast defense such a power would be of inconceivable value. A moment's consideration makes it clear, however, that such control must depend upon the presence on shipboard of delicate receiving apparatus connected in a particular way with the steering mechanism. At any rate, it is highly improbable, to say the least, that Dr. Lirpa's machines could make any serious impression on the ordinary electrical apparatus of a liner.

As it is hardly likely that the enemies' ships would go to the trouble of equipping their pilot-houses with Dr. Lirpa's receiving apparatus, the practical value of his discovery is likely to be limited to the control of long-distance torpedoes, and perhaps to a few peaceful applications.

A COLLAPSIBLE HOISTING CAGE

Mr. George S. Rice, Chief Mining Engineer of the United States Bureau of Mines, has dedicated to public use a patent just issued by the Government for a hoisting cage, which is primarily for use in rescue work, but can be used for other purposes. Mr. Rice in describing his invention states that it has for its object the provision of a novel cage which shall have peculiar advantages in regard to portability and ease of assembling and disassembling. He adds that, although not limited to such use, it is of especial utility in mine rescue work as an emergency cage.

It frequently happens in case of mine accidents that the regular hoisting equipment may be so damaged or disarranged that it cannot be used. In such cases the provision of an emergency cage which can be made ready in a few minutes will greatly facilitate the work of rescue parties. The cage comprises a collapsible frame, consisting of two flat bars, each bent into a form which may be termed approximately elliptical, and the ends welded together, thus forming endless members which serve not only as uprights but also as top and bottom frame parts. The inclosing members for the cage comprise horizontally arranged hoops, each bolted to the upright frame members, thus serving both to brace the frame and to form skeleton sides adapted to prevent falling or displacement of load. It will be seen that the generally elliptical contour of the cage will greatly facilitate its travel past obstructions in the shaft, and that the curved upright portions of the frame will serve to a certain extent to guide shoes. In large cages it may be desirable to use more than two of these frame members.

A USE FOR MILKWEED

Although the milky juice, or latex, of the common milkweed yields from two to three per cent of rubber, the amount is so small and the quality so poor that it would not be commercially profitable to extract it. According to the "Journal" of the Society of Chemical Industry, the best fibers of the plant are, however, likely to prove a more profitable product. They are easily separated, and, after bleaching, yield a white, silky textile material that is even stronger than flax, which it closely resembles. The seeds contain considerable drying oil, and the soft white down attached to the seeds could be used in upholstery. About four-fifths of the plant material consists of woody tissue that, when treated with soda solution under pressure, yields a pulp suitable for paper-making. Milkweed grows wild in enormous quantities throughout the United States and Canada; but if it is to be utilized industrially, some system of cultivation will probably be required to increase the supply of the plant. A milkweed crop could be raised on soil that would be good for little else.

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BY THE WAY

San Diego, as well as San Francisco, is to have an Exposition in 1915. As described in the "West Coast Magazine," the Exposition will be worth comparing with that of the larger city. The San Diegans themselves have subscribed $40 per capita for the enterprise, and challenge their big neighbor to equal their enthusiasm as thus manifested.

The country has hundreds of beautiful high school buildings, says the "Journal of Education," but, "with due regard for all others," it "hazards the statement that, all in all, the gem of America is the school plant of Naugatuck, Connecticut." In addition to having an unexcelled equipment, this school is described as being situated in a park unsurpassed in flowers, shrubbery, trees, and vines.

The municipal platform of the Socialist party in New York City goes so far as to demand the "proper clothing" as well as "feeding" of all pupils in the public schools, and also the granting of pensions to school children, when necessary, so that they may continue their studies till the age of eighteen. Now, really, if the children are to be municipalized to that extent, won't they get to looking and acting like the pathetically demure little charges of the orphan asylums that we see occasionally in the streets?

"Der Kluge Hans," the celebrated educated horse, has, it is asserted, been outclassed as to cleverness by two Arab horses trained at Elberfeld, Germany, by Herr Krall, their owner. The Society for Psychical Research in England has recently honored these horses by investigating them, but without, it is reported, discovering the secret of their clever replies to questions.

The World's Sunday-School Convention, which met recently in Zurich, Switzerland, with an attendance of 2,500 delegates from fifty countries, accepted an invitation from Japanese workers to hold the next Convention, which will meet in 1916, in Tokio.

An aeronautical map of the entire world, it is announced by Admiral Peary in a report to the National Geographic Society, is to be prepared by a convention of geographers and meteorologists to meet in the near future. The wind, it seems, in these days no longer "bloweth where it listeth," but according to known rules, and the interests of aeronauts require an elaborate map of the wind currents.

In Richmond a woman has been fined for wearing a dress that failed to meet the approval of the city fathers; in Pittsburgh the Public Safety Director says, "No woman will be arrested for wearing the new-fashioned gowns." It is a nice question, this, as to how far men shall go in dictating women's fashions through the police power. Would not a conference between city officials, representative women, and the heads of department stores be helpful in deciding what is proper in the way of new fashions and what is "the limit"?

Mrs. R. B. Smith, widow of William van Rensselaer Smith, has made a new record for donations to the Y. M. C. A. by giving $500,000 to the Brooklyn branch of the Association for a new building. The proposed structure will, it is said, be the finest building of the kind in the world.

Mayor George R. Lunn, of Schenectady, New York, and the Rev. Robert Bakeman, of the same place, who last year were convicted of violating an ordinance prohibiting speechmaking in the streets of Little Falls during a strike, recently won the appeal which they took after their conviction. The lower court was reversed, however, on technical grounds.

A newspaper euphemism that is much overworked is the word "stork." "Stork brings second boy," "Queen expects stork," etc., ought by this time to be taboo to the headline artist. Plain, dignified English is vastly better than a banal metaphor.

While the "man in the street" continues to prove that he can be a hero whenever the occasion requires, humanity need not fear that it is deteriorating. The latest instance of such heroism occurred a few days ago when a man fell over the iron railing at the brink of Niagara Falls. His body lodged on a projection of rock, and instantly four onlookers leaped after him, forming a "human chain" which, after strenuous exertions, brought him safe to shore.

A puzzled subscriber asks why the name Marian is now almost invariably spelled Marion, when forty years ago "every woman who bore the name, that I knew anything about, spelled it with an a." Fashions in spelling names change like other fashions, and in this case the idea impelling the change has probably been the desire to get away from the commonplaceness imagined to inhere in the appellation "Mary Ann," of which "Marian" itself seems to be a variant.

Estimates of statisticians put the amount of American capital now invested in Canada at $500,000,000. The largest individual American enterprise in Canada is said to be that of the International Harvester Company, which at its works in Hamilton employs between 3,000 and 4,000 men.

"Reading notices" in some of the daily papers tell how to preserve beauty by using "simple home-made prescriptions" that are really intended to foster the sale of certain proprietary articles. "Get an ounce of almozoin,"

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says one, "and cure your wrinkles." "Get four ounces of spurmax at any reliable drug-store." "Quinzoin," "canthrox," "parnotis," "kardene," "crystos," etc., are other words unfamiliar to the lexicographers, but printed as if they were as common as paregoric.

A religious sect that believes in a strict interpretation of the commandment against graven images, and hence frowns upon the taking of photographs or the painting of portraits of any of its members, is, says a writer in the "Christian Register," located in Lordsburg, California, and is known as the Dunkard River Brethren. Newspapers and magazines are also objected to, and are rarely found in any of the homes of this peculiar people.

The recent death of a Chinaman in New York at the age, as he claimed, of 149 years, raises the question whether the records of extreme old age are authentic. The cases in which men or women have reached the century mark are so numerous that there seems no reason for skepticism concerning them; but the records of Thomas Cam, aged 207, William Edwards, 168, and Henry Jenkins, 169, are open to the doubt that falls on all mediæval statistics. The tables of life insurance companies within the next century will probably furnish reliable data for future investigators.

Who wrote the German national song, "The Watch on the Rhine"? Most people will have to think hard for an answer. Max Schneckenburger, the author, is said never to have published anything else. "The Marseillaise" is the only production of Rouget de Lisle which has survived. Our "America," written by "a fellow of excellent pith whom fate tried to conceal by naming him Smith," is the only popular survival of that poet-patriot's muse.

Wall Street is usually dull in July, but this year it has been phenomenally quiet. On a recent dull day, says "Financial America," the commissions of the 1,100 members of the New York Stock Exchange amounted to only $8,125—or $7.40 each. Considering the high rents that have to be paid for offices in the vicinity of Wall Street, it would seem that the brokers must have had to draw on their surplus for their carfare home that day!

The Rev. Charles Stelzle has, it is announced, resigned from the secretaryship of the Department of Church and Labor of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions "to become a consulting sociologist on an undenominational basis." If Mr. Stelzle's work in his wider field proves as efficient as his denominational work, the larger church will have cause for real gratitude in the change.

"We have in St. Louis," says a writer in "Modern Methods," "a large department store which has taken the lead in sales. The president of the company seems to be here, there, and everywhere. He apparently sees everybody that comes in; he has his watchful eye on the clerks to see that they do not say 'We haven't got it.' The point I wish to make is that this man is not back in the office, but right up in front where he can see everything that is going on."

Treasure-hunters who hoped to get a few billions from the bottom of Lake Guatavita in Colombia have, it is announced, succeeded in draining the lake and recovering—ornaments worth about $10,000! The Indians, during religious ceremonies, once threw quantities of gold and precious stones into the waters of the lake; but perhaps some of the knowing ones among them indulged in treasure-hunting themselves long before the white men came; at any rate, the treasure recovered failed to pay the expenses of the recent expedition.

The champion prizefighter of the country has left America for France and will not come back, he says, because "a black man has no chance to get justice there" (in America). The difficulty in getting justice for this particular fugitive seems to be in the system of giving bail to a convicted criminal instead of keeping him under lock and key until his case is finally settled.

Baseball terminology grows more and more technical, so that even the "fans" will soon require a dictionary for reference. What, for instance, is a "bingle"? What is a "bobble"? And when the newspapers speak of "Browns," "Reds," "Dodgers," "Cards," "Skeeters," "Indians," "Naps," "Sox," etc., without explanation, what is a casual reader to do about it? Couldn't the sporting editors keep a glossary at the head of their page?

Tree houses, says Dr. T. S. Carrington in "Fresh Air and How to Use It," are now used in many parts of this country and in Europe for outdoor sleeping purposes. "There is," he says, "a novelty and charm about such a location which gives a feeling of height, airiness, and safety to the outdoor sleeper housed among the leaves and boughs of a great tree." Tree houses may be built either in one large tree or between several smaller trees which stand in a suitable position.

Advocating the breathing of pure air while we sleep, Dr. Carrington remarks: "Outdoor air is much purer in a given location at night than it is during the day. The atmosphere is cleansed by the precipitation of dew and frost, for moisture as it drops to the earth carries with it from the air the particles of dust and smoke which pollute it. Fresh cold night air stimulates and tones up the body and induces healthy sleep, which is normally followed by renewed strength and a fresh mental outlook upon life."

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